№ DS 708.S53

THE TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
LUX
OMNIUM CIVIUM
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
1852 1878

GIVEN BY
G. Howland Shaw

THE

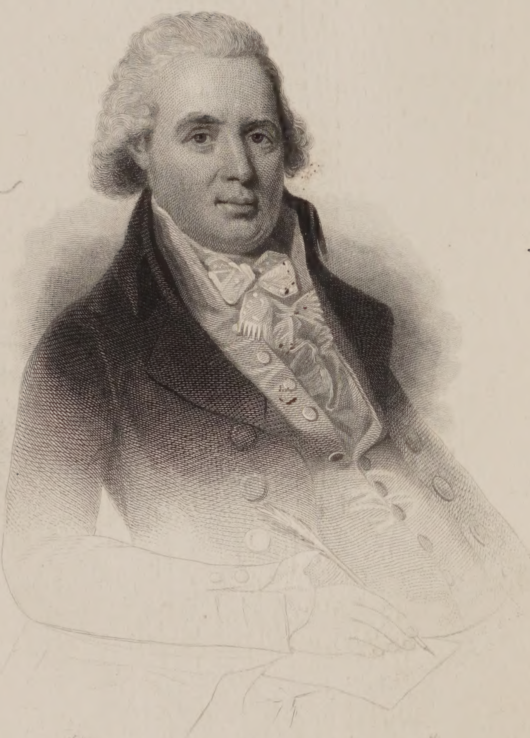
LIFE AND JOURNALS

OF

MAJOR SAMUEL SHAW.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Boston Public Library

https://archive.org/details/journalsofmajors00shaw_0



J. Johnston Pinxt

J. Andrews Sc.

S Shaw

E. Andrews Print

THE

JOURNALS

OF

MAJOR SAMUEL SHAW,

THE

FIRST AMERICAN CONSUL AT CANTON.

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

JOSIAH QUINCY.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE

23158

BOSTON:
WM. CROSBY AND H. P. NICHOLS,
111 Washington Street.
1847.

1649

DS 708
.S53

Public Library of the City of Boston

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1847, by
The Boston Marine Society,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

1656

J. Rowland Shaw

Oct. 5 1851

CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY
METCALF AND COMPANY,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

PREFACE.

The subject of the ensuing Memoir, having served his country with honor and distinction in the army during the war of American Independence, was the first who, after that event, received the appointment of Consul of the United States at Canton from the American Congress, in 1786; an appointment which, in 1790, President Washington renewed. He resided several years in that city, and was engaged for a considerable period in active commerce in the Chinese and Indian seas. The trade of the United States with China and India he made the special object of his study; and at his death, which occurred in 1794, he left, in manuscript, Journals containing an account of the first and of other early voyages from the United States to Canton. They throw a light on the commercial relations of our country with those distant regions at that period, which cannot fail to be interesting; and, although the intercourse of half a century intervening since they were written may have made that which was once novel now familiar, yet, from the unchangeableness of Chinese habits and policy, they undoubtedly contain much information, which, even at this day, is both useful and attractive.

These Journals of Major Shaw came, after his death, into the possession of his nephew and legal representative, Robert Gould Shaw, of Boston. Their publication has often been solicited, but has hitherto been withheld; the present proprietor doubting if a work not originally designed for the press could with propriety be given to the public. He has, however, now yielded to the urgency of friends, and to the assurance of judicious merchants, long and intimately acquainted with the China trade, that their publication not only will be practically useful, but is due to the memory of their author, will redound to his honor, and will gratify a wise public curiosity concerning the early state and history of this branch of American commerce. Assuming all the expenses, Mr. Shaw has transferred the copyright of the book to the Boston Marine Society, in aid of whose funds he was of opinion its proceeds would be most appropriately applied; and to this object they are devoted.

If the commercial information these Journals contain is adapted to gratify curiosity, a deeper sentiment will be excited by the narrative of the military life of Major Shaw, composed chiefly of letters written to his nearest relatives and friends, from his enlistment in the American army, at Cambridge, in December, 1775, to its final disbandment, at West Point, in January, 1784, and describing almost every important event in the war of the American Revolution. Written at the moment of victory or of defeat, amidst poverty and privation, they illustrate the character of the writer, and also feelingly exhibit the principles, motives, and spirit of that class of the soldiers of our Revolution to which he belonged, — a class which entered the army, at the commencement of the struggle for Independence, under the impulse of patriotic zeal, and, sustained by the same sentiment, continued in it until its close, — undeterred by dangers or disasters, neither moved by the sufferings they endured, nor disgusted by the neglect or the wrongs they experienced from their country. On these men, more than on any other, the arm of Washington leaned. Yet of them, individually, history has little to record. Their agency, though efficient, was unobtrusive. They thought not of telling the story of their own services to posterity. The confidential narrative contained in the private letters of Major Shaw cannot, therefore, fail to awaken, in the American public, feelings of interest, respect, and gratitude.

Having been requested to prepare a Memoir of the author of these Journals by the proprietor of them, I have undertaken the task from no other motive than the gratification resulting from being instrumental in perpetuating the memory of one who was during life honored and beloved by all who knew him.

It was my happiness, in my early youth, to enjoy the privilege of his acquaintance and correspondence; and now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, I can truly say, that, in the course of a long life, I have never known an individual of a character more elevated and chivalric, acting according to a purer standard of morals, imbued with a higher sense of honor, and uniting more intimately the qualities of the gentleman, the soldier, the scholar, and the Christian.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Boston, April, 1847.

CONTENTS.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

His Birth, Parentage, and Education. — Joins the American Army as a Lieutenant of Artillery. — Incidents occurring at Cambridge and Dorchester Heights. — March of the American Army to New York. — His Remarks on that City, and Conversation with General Putnam. — Arrival of General Howe with the British Army, and immediately succeeding Events. 3

CHAPTER II.

Attack on the British Ships in Tappan Bay by American Galleys. — Retreat of the American Army from New York. — Straits to which it was reduced. — Death of Thomas Henley. — Skirmishes with the Enemy before and after the Battle of White Plains. — His Indignation at the Conduct of the Militia. — Capture of Fort Washington by the British. — Account of the Battle of Princeton. 18

CHAPTER III.

Events of the War in the Jerseys. — The Battle of Brandywine. — Capture of Philadelphia by the British. — Battle of Germantown. — Disaffection of Pennsylvania. 31

CHAPTER IV.

Eulogy of Washington. — Battle of Monmouth. — Arrest of General Lee. — His Character. — Picture of Men and Times. — Duel between General Lee and Colonel Laurens. — Effects of the Depreciation of the Paper Currency. 45

CHAPTER V.

Ravages of the British in Connecticut. — Capture of Stony Point by General Wayne. — Enterprise against Paulus Hook under Major Henry Lee. — His Arrest for Misconduct. — Trial. — Defence, and honorable Acquittal. 61

CHAPTER VI.

Incursion of the British into the Jerseys. — Arnold's Treachery. — Difficulties in the Exchange of Prisoners. — The Command in the Southern Department conferred on General Greene. — His Character and Popularity. 73

CHAPTER VII.

Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line. — The French Army under Rochambeau. — Battle near the Cowpens. — Revolt in the New Jersey Line. — A Subaltern's Outfit in the American Army. — Impositions on the Army, and the Injustice done to its Soldiers by the States. — Chevalier Mauduit du Plessis. 84

CHAPTER VIII.

Discontent of the American Army. — Address to Congress in its Behalf by its Officers. — Proceedings on that Occasion. — The Newburg Anonymous Addresses. — Measures taken to counteract their Influence. — Glorious Conduct of Washington. — The persecuting Spirit manifested towards the Tories condemned. . 99

CHAPTER IX.

Cessation of Hostilities proclaimed to the American Army. — Washington's and Knox's Certificates of Major Shaw's Services and Merit. — He engages in the First Commercial Enterprise from the United States to China. — Returns, and is appointed the First Consul from the United States at Canton. — His Second Voyage to the Chinese Empire. — His Residence there. — Voyage to Bengal, and Return to the United States. 108

CHAPTER X.

Third Voyage to Canton. — Commerce with Americans prohibited at Batavia. — His Proceedings on that Subject. — Death of his Brother Nathaniel. — He returns to New York. — Vindicates the Character of General Knox. — His Marriage. — Departure for Bombay. — His Death on the Return Voyage. — Remarks on his Life and Character. 117

JOURNALS.

First Voyage to Canton 131
Second Voyage to Canton 215
Visit to Bengal 257
Return to Canton, and Voyage Homeward 293

Appendix 335

MEMOIR.

1

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EDUCATION. — JOINS THE AMERICAN ARMY AS A LIEUTENANT OF ARTILLERY. — INCIDENTS OCCURRING AT CAMBRIDGE AND DORCHESTER HEIGHTS. — MARCH OF THE AMERICAN ARMY TO NEW YORK. — HIS REMARKS ON THAT CITY, AND CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL PUTNAM. — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL HOWE WITH THE BRITISH ARMY, AND IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING EVENTS.

SAMUEL SHAW was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 2d of October, 1754. He was the third son of Francis and Mary Shaw. His father, a merchant engaged in extensive business, and distinguished for intelligence and enterprise, early placed him at one of the common schools of Boston, and at the usual age entered him at the Latin School, then under the care of that distinguished teacher, James Lovell. His progress there is said to have evinced great quickness of intellect ; and the knowledge of Latin he acquired enabled him in after life, during the leisure of the camp and of his voyages to India and China, to become familiar with the most popular and admired Latin poets and historians, passages from whose writings he often introduced into his letters and journals ; such quotations from the classics not being then considered pedantic, but as the result of the natural associations of a well educated and judiciously cultivated mind.

Being destined for commercial pursuits, Samuel Shaw soon quitted the school for the counting-house, in which he was assiduously occupied, when the political circumstances of the times gave an unanticipated direction to his thoughts and fortunes.

The relations of amity, and the feelings of affection, which had subsisted for a century and a half between the inhabitants of those British colonies which now constitute the United States and the parent country, were terminated on the 19th of April, 1775, by the battle of Lexington. The concentration of Continental troops in the vicinity of Boston, and the battle of Bunker's Hill, which succeeded, on the 17th of June, made it apparent that hostilites were inevitable, and that a struggle had commenced which arms alone could decide. On the side of America, while manhood and middle age advanced to meet the crisis with cautious but firm steps, the young, the ardent, and the enterprising, casting away fear, and taking counsel only of patriotism, rushed to the standard of their country with a determined and intrepid zeal.

The subject of this memoir had not attained the age of manhood when these events occurred. Circumstances, however, early enlisted both his principles and his passions in the cause of his country. The northern part of Boston, where he resided, was also the abode of some of the most active and ardent spirits who gave character and impulse to the first movements of the American Revolution.

Troops, sent from the parent state to awe the colonies into submission, and parading the streets of Boston, were continual causes of excitement and anger; giving intensity to feelings which it was difficult to restrain, and impossible to allay. Boston being at that time regarded by the British as a garrison town, the officers of the army were billeted on the inhabitants. The house of Francis Shaw was assigned for quarters to Major Pitcairn and Lieutenant Wragg. A tradition in the family states, that, the latter having at the table, in the presence of Samuel Shaw, spoken of the Americans as "cowards and rebels," he immediately resented the reproach, and transmitted to the lieutenant a challenge. While arrangements for a duel were in preparation, the fact came to the knowledge of Major Pitcairn, who interfered, and, either by influence or authority, obtained from the lieutenant such an apology for the offence as Mr. Shaw was willing to accept, and the affair was thus terminated.

On the 2d of October, 1775, Samuel Shaw attained the age of manhood, and, with the assent of his father, immediately took measures to insure his enrolment in the army, then collecting at Cambridge under the auspices of Washington. From this period a series of letters, written by him to his father, his brother, and his friend, the late Rev. John Eliot, D. D., are preserved, and constitute the only remaining evidence of the events of his military life. Extracts from these letters will form the chief basis of the ensuing narrative. They place in strong relief his spirit, sufferings, and virtues. Nor can they fail to excite a more general interest, from the graphic detail of the war of the Revolution by one who was either an actor or a witness throughout the whole period.

The application of Mr. Shaw to General Washington was for a lieutenancy in the train of artillery. While it was under the consideration of the Commander-in-chief, he wrote thus to his father (December 1st, 1775): —

"With respect to getting a commission, the matter rests with the General, and I suppose will be determined to-day. Colonels Mason and Burbeck have both of them been very friendly to me, and recommended me to Captain Foster, of the train, who willingly accepted me, and returned me yesterday as one of his lieutenants to the General. How it will turn, I know not; but I shall be extremely obliged to his Excellency if he do not make *a black mark* against my name."

In the same letter he thus exults over the capture of a British ordnance-ship by a Continental cruiser, commanded by Captain Manly: —

"I congratulate you upon the occasion. It is one of the luckiest things that could have happened. General Gates, Colonel Burbeck, and all the officers here, declare, that, if an inventory of military stores for a laboratory had been sent for to England, it could not have been executed more completely. She has been unloaded with the utmost expedition, lest the enemy should get intelligence of her being at Cape Ann, and attempt to rescue her. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing some of her stores at Cambridge."

It is apparent from his next letter, that a spirit of careful selection in regard to appointments was exercised even thus early by Washington, notwithstanding the urgency of the crisis and the obvious policy of conciliatory measures in the fluctuating and unformed state of the American army.

"I board," he again writes (December 28th, 1775, to his father), "at a house in Cambridge, as my captain thought it not advisable for me to go into quarters till my commission takes place. This advice he gave me from his acquaintance with the two officers who are left out, and who, he supposes, will take exception at my coming in before their times expire. This will be next Monday, when I shall go to the barracks and join the company."

His subsequent letters, until the regiment to which he belonged was marched to Dorchester Heights, are all dated from Prospect Hill in Charlestown. In these letters the incidents of the siege of Boston are related with a particularity natural in so novel a scene. Common and slight events became important to a mind like his, which took an interest in every thing that evidenced the activity and spirit of the American troops. On the 1st of January, 1776, he again writes: —

"My time of service commences to-day, and I shall presently repair to my quarters and join my company. . . . . . An attempt was made last week by two divisions of the army from Cobble and Winter hills, under General Sullivan, consisting entirely of volunteers, upon the ministerials at Bunker's Hill, for the purpose of destroying the remaining houses at Charlestown, which they occupied for barracks. They went off in high spirits, and got within two musket-shots of the enemy, who took no alarm, when they were obliged to return, by reason of the channel over which they were to pass not being sufficiently frozen to bear them. It is said that it will be attempted again, but I apprehend not very soon, as many of the soldiers in the old army are gone, and others are going, home, their term of service being expired. However, as soon as the new army is completed, I am of opinion that not only an attempt will be made there, but also another on Boston. . . . . . My best wishes attend you and all our friends. That the new year may prove a happy one, and afford us fresh cause to rejoice in the goodness of our common Parent, is the ardent prayer, my dear parents, of your affectionate and dutiful son."

Again he writes (February 14th, 1776): —

"A successful attempt has been made on Charlestown, and ten houses were burnt. The expedition was carried on with great secrecy, hardly any person besides those employed knowing a syllable of the affair until they had the pleasure of seeing the blaze. Among the prisoners taken was a woman, who, being something fatigued, was, by General Putnam's order, carried between two men part of the way; but, this mode being found inconvenient, the General, with his usual affability, cried out, — 'Here, hand her up to me'; which being done, she put her hand round his waist, and made this pious ejaculation as they rode off: — 'Jesus bless you, sweet General! May you live for ever!'*

"Our life in camp is confined. The officers are not allowed even to visit Cambridge, without leave from the commanding officer, and we are kept pretty closely to our duty. The drum beats at daybreak, when all hands turn out to man the lines. Here we stay till sunrise, and then all are marched off to prayers. We exercise twice a day, and every fourth day take our turn on guard. Opinions are various, whether Boston is to be attacked or not. I think it is a difficult question to answer. However, if it should be judged expedient to do it, I hope our troops will act with sufficient resolution to command success. Should it be my lot to go, I trust that a sense of what I owe to my country, my parents, and myself, will induce me to behave in a suitable manner.

"A fracas happened last night, between our guard at Cobble Hill and the regulars at Charlestown. Fourteen of the guard went over the mill-dam, and tore the plank off from the mill, and brought it away. Encouraged by this success, they went a second time, intending to burn what was left of it. The regulars, alarmed, had placed five sentries, who fired upon our men, but without doing them any damage. Our men returned the fire briskly, and would have taken the sentries, had not the British, from one of their batteries, opened upon them with grape-shot, which obliged them to desist."

The restricted nature of his pecuniary resources at this period, and the limited sphere of his wants, are thus simply expressed.

"I thank you for the eight pounds, lawful money, which you sent me. I shall be as prudent as possible, and hope I shall rub along without drawing any more upon you; though I must be pretty saving, as the officers of our corps are ambitious of making a good appearance, — each person being to furnish himself with a uniform complete, a sword, and a laced hat."

---

* Washington's account of the same affair may be found in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. III., p. 241.

His last letter from Prospect Hill (February 24th, 1776) acknowledges the receipt of the further sum of four pounds from his father, and expresses the hope, that he shall have no need of another supply, as he expects soon to receive his pay, and that in the mean time he can obtain credit for any necessaries he may want; "after which," says he, "with a little prudence, my pay will maintain me genteelly." In this, as in his other letters, his youthful affections are expressed by enumerating by name several members of his family, and particular friends, and sending them messages of love. His domestic feelings are indicated by the question, — "When will the time come that we shall all sit down in our little room, and eat a Sunday's dinner together? Perhaps soon; perhaps never. Let us not be discouraged, but trust a kind Providence for the event, after what is required on our part has been done." He adds, — "Preparations are making here for some great blow, which will soon be struck." *

From his next letter (March 10th, 1776) it appears that the anticipated blow resulted in the movement of that part of the American army to which Lieutenant Shaw belonged from Prospect Hill to Dorchester Heights. This completed the investment of the town of Boston, and resulted in its evacuation by the British. In another letter, also dated on those Heights, he writes: —

---

* An attack on Boston, by passing over the ice, was then contemplated by Washington. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

"Our company was ordered here last Monday night, where we expect to remain until something decisive is done. My health, by God's blessing, is good. Make yourself as easy on my account as possible. Our accommodations are as good as could be expected, my circumstances convenient, and my spirits as good as ever."

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, the army was marched to New York, and his next letter (April 6th, 1776), dated at New London, where he was waiting for a wind, the troops and cannon being on board a transport, represents the young soldier as feeling rather better than worse for the march, but sadly afflicted by his own wants and those of his companions.

"I had flattered myself," he writes to his father, "that I should have no further occasion for your assistance. Two months' pay are due me; but, no money being forthcoming, I have been obliged to draw on you, not knowing when I shall receive any. I am in want of an entire new suit, and have no means but this draft, which I hope you will accept; and I trust it will be some time or other in my power to make you amends for all your kindnesses to me. Our march has been different from what I anticipated. The officers (upwards of twenty in number), having given their provisions to the men, chose to dine at their own cost at the public houses on the road. This creates a new and not a small expense, which, however, must be met, unless a person has a mind to be looked upon as a *Joe Bunker*, that is, a fellow without a soul."

His next letter (April 17th, 1776), from New York, expresses the delight he experienced, in sailing out of New London harbour, at seeing the American fleet, under Commodore Hopkins, with several prizes taken from the enemy; and how agreeable it would be to him (if a soldier might be allowed to have a will of his own) should it fall to the lot of the artillery to be ordered on the expedition against Quebec, which was then departing, under General Sullivan.

> "Presence at a siege would afford me an opportunity for improvement, to say nothing of the credit which, in case of a storm, a soldier has a chance of gaining for himself in such a campaign. This city [New York] is handsome, but ah! poor Boston! I have seen no place like thee. The private and public buildings here are elegant. There is a marble statue to the memory of Pitt, and a bronze one of the British tyrant on horseback; but what avail these? The honest sincerity, kindness, and hospitality, for which the inhabitants of our once happy town were so remarkable, are not to be found here. So far as one has money, so far he may have friends. The people of this place are a motley collection of all the nations under heaven. Every thing is extravagantly dear, so that a subaltern must live close to bring both ends of the month together. We are to receive our pay in a day or two, all of which I shall be obliged to lay out at once for clothing, in which I am sadly deficient."

In his next letter (New York, May 3d, 1776) he exhibits the reasoning of the period concerning the importance of immediately taking possession of Canada by the Continental forces.

> "The seat of war may be thus changed, and much bloodshed prevented. By securing Quebec, the savages will be prevented from being stirred up against us; and, if we fail in our present attempt, it will be impossible to succeed hereafter. I had yesterday an opportunity of hearing General Putnam's sentiments concerning our affairs. He was looking at the cannon in the fort here, and asking several questions of me (I being then on guard) concerning them; which having answered, I took the freedom to ask him what his opinion was in regard to the enemy. He replied frankly, that he thought they would endeavour to give us a brushing here. 'Then,' said I, 'we shall have a little business,

General.' 'Not a little, neither,' replied the old gentleman; 'for when they come up with their ships you 'll have your hands full, I warrant you.' On this I observed, that a smart fire from eight or ten ships of the line, well returned by our batteries, would give a young person some idea of a cannonade. 'Ay, would it,' concluded he, laughing, 'and of a pretty hot one, too.'

"You have heard, no doubt, better descriptions of New York and its inhabitants than any I can give, so I shall not attempt it. Suffice it to say, that a person might be here a twelvemonth without contracting an acquaintance worth his while; and, so much is their attention engrossed by self, that but a small share of it alights upon strangers. I flattered myself, before I came here, that, in such a place as New York, whatever I might want could be procured on *something like* reasonable terms. In this, however, I reckoned without my host, for the price of every thing is raised to an extravagant height. Linen, such as used to be sold at 2s. 8d., now brings six or seven shillings.

"My two months' pay I have not received. One guinea per week is the *moderate* price a gentleman must pay for board. This, however, is an expense a soldier can very well steer clear of, by taking up with his quarters; but, on a march, it is well if it is not more. It is not unlikely we shall soon march southward. Wherever I am, it will be my great happiness to write to and receive letters from you. My affectionate regards to mother, brothers, sisters, aunts, and to all friends."

On the 24th of May, 1776, he again writes from New York: —

"Not a single line have I had from you or any of our friends. But, though out of sight, my dear parents, you are not out of mind. Distance, instead of lessening, increases my anxiety for you in these troublesome times. By the accounts from Boston, I fear the fortifying and securing that much afflicted place from the future attempts of our enemy goes on but slowly. Surely, the inhuman treatment the inhabitants have received from those barbarians should excite their utmost endeavours to guard against a repetition of it.

"You have doubtless the great news from England of the mighty things they intend to do this campaign, and how poor America is to be frightened with Hessians, Hanoverians, Waldeckers, Brunswickers, and many more hard names, that I do not at present recollect. Great Britain, in my humble opinion, will find it a more difficult task to bring those troops into the *field* than to marshal them in the *Gazette*."

"I am now [June 11th, 1776] stationed at Red Hook, about four miles from New York. It is on an island, situated in such a manner as to command the entrance of the harbour entirely, where we have a fort with four eighteen-pounders, to fire *en barbette*, that is, over the top of the works, which is vastly better than firing through embrasures, as we can now bring all our guns to bear on the same object at once. The fort is named *Defiance*. Should the enemy's fleet make an attempt, they will, I think, be annoyed by it exceedingly. It is thought to be one of the most important posts we have.

"There are two families here, — Mr. Vandyke and his son, good, staunch Whigs, and very clever folks, — between whom and our people a very agreeable intercourse subsists. I rode out with the young man, about a week ago, to a place called Flushing, on Long Island, sixteen miles off, where, and in most of the country towns round about, the Tories from the city have taken shelter.* It is almost incredible how many of these vermin there are. Scarce was a house we rode by, but Mr. Vandyke would say, 'There lives a rascally Tory.' The day before yesterday, a boat belonging to one of them was taken, coming from the Asia, on board of which ship she had been carrying provisions. There were a number of letters for Tories tied up in a bag, with lead in it, in order to sink them in case of surprise; but this happened to be so quick as to prevent them from doing it. The contents of the letters have not transpired, but the owner has absconded. It is to be wished that some method could be taken to break up their nest, as I am of opinion, that, should the enemy appear, the major part of the Tories would not hesitate a moment in declaring for them. Far different this from the noble spirit of freedom which animates the breasts of New-England men. Generous spirits! may your sufferings soon be recompensed with the blessings of peace, in addition to the applause of the whole continent, to which your fortitude and perseverance so justly entitle you! I hope, dear parents, I shall not long be denied the pleasure of hearing from you, as these stirring times afford frequent opportunities for conveyance. I have no anxiety on my own account, but cannot help being concerned that I get no intelligence of your circumstances."

---

* The disaffection to the Revolution, on Long Island and in the lower counties of New York, is fully stated in Washington's letters. See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. III., pp. 398 – 400; also, pp. 440, 469, 470; Vol. IV., p. 86.

In a letter written at Red Hook (June 17th, 1776), after acknowledging the receipt of one from his parents, he exults "at the spirit and alacrity of the gentlemen of Boston, who so universally turned out to labor on the fortifications for the defence of the harbour," the members of the learned professions, the clergy included, volunteering for the service. "The name of a Bostonian," he exclaims, "will be as respectable with posterity as that of a Greek and Roman." The disastrous event of the attempt to besiege Quebec by the American army, under General Sullivan, he laments in this letter. The misbehaviour of the troops excited his indignation: —

"Their misconduct," he adds, "was scandalous, and has alarmed the General [Washington], insomuch that all the brigadier-generals* have been ordered to acquaint the officers of their respective brigades with the particular circumstances of the affair, and to impress on their minds a due sense of the important cause in which we are engaged, and the infinite obligations we are under to our country, ourselves, and posterity, for the faithful discharge of our duty. I sympathize with you in these difficult times, and hope that the same bounteous hand which has hitherto sustained you will still continue its assistance. I am much obliged to you for your advice respecting my continuance in the army, which so exactly tallies with my own views. Yet, were it otherwise, every motive that could influence valor or humanity must urge to the field. These, when joined to the love of one's country, and the heroic example of the noble Warren and his brave companions, who on this anniversary [June 17th] sacrificed themselves on the altar of Liberty, will engage a compliance, and make the call irresistible. I still remain at Red Hook, in health and spirits. Denied the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with you, my dear parents, my greatest pleasure will be frequently to hear from you. I wish you, and my brothers and sisters, every blessing."

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. III., pp. 401, 406, 411.

Again, from Red Hook (July 15th, 1776), he congratulates his parents on the return of the family to their old habitation in Boston,

" where," says he, " by God's blessing, I hope you will remain, unmolested and free. . . . . . General Howe has arrived with the army from Halifax, which is encamped on Staten Island. On Friday, two ships and three tenders, taking advantage of a brisk gale and strong current, ran by our batteries, up the North River, where they at present remain.* By deserters we learn they sustained considerable damage, being hulled in many places, and very much hurt in their rigging. So great was their hurry, that they would not stay to return our salute, though it was given with much cordiality and warmth ; which they seemed very sensible of, notwithstanding their distance, which was nearly two miles. They were a little more polite at the Grand Battery in the city, whose fire they returned, but without effect, as they made no stop, but crowded all the sail possible.

---

* *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 468, 472, 473.

"On Sunday, Lord Howe sent up a boat with a flag, which was met by one from the General, about half way between the fleet and our fort. After mutual compliments, the captain of one of their ships acquainted our adjutant-general that he had a letter for *Mr. Washington*, which he begged him to deliver; to which he replied that he knew no such person as Mr. Washington, nor should he receive the letter. The captain urged him very much to take it, declaring that it contained nothing of a military nature, but something which, if well understood and rightly attended to, would be productive of the happiest consequences. To this the adjutant replied, that it was immaterial as to the contents of the letter, which, whatever they might be, would not find admittance till properly addressed. On this they parted; but, after rowing a few rods, the captain turned back and desired to know what title would suit Mr. Washington; to which he received for answer, that General Washington's character was so well established as to make any information on that head entirely needless. Before they parted the last time, the captain said that Lord Howe was invested with great powers, and would rather choose to meet us in the field of argument than of battle; and added, that his Lordship was very unhappy at not arriving a little sooner.

"We are at a loss how to construe this part respecting his Lordship's unhappiness; whether it arose from his not arriving before Independence was declared, or not being here time enough to prevent the ships above mentioned going up the North River. These ships, I trust, will be taken such good care of, as to prevent their returning to the fleet again. The great powers his Lordship is invested with, perhaps, may enable him to receive the submission of the colonies, *when they choose to offer it;* and to hang such obstinate rebels, as, notwithstanding the mildness of the terms, may be found in arms against *his* royal master. *Ours* he no longer is, — and, by the blessing of God on the American arms, I trust never will be. The service of the Church of England has been performed in New York, all along, without alteration or exception, till the Declaration of Independence appeared, when last Sunday, for the first time, the churches were all shut.

And so may they remain, until the wisdom of the Continent order a suitable form.

"Our fort is much strengthened by new works and more troops, and in so good a posture of defence that it would be almost impossible to take it, either by attack or surprise. To guard against the latter, each man is every other night on duty. Notwithstanding this and other fatigue, I never enjoyed better health or spirits than at present. Thanks to the Giver of every good gift for them! May he continue to be gracious to us, and cause us, in his own good time, to say from happy experience, 'It is good for us that we have been afflicted!'"

"General Washington has sent a flag to Lord Howe [July 17th, 1776]; and yesterday his Lordship sent one up, but it was not received, as he has not yet learned properly to superscribe his letters, this being directed to 'George Washington, Esquire, &c., &c., &c.' Ah, my Lord! the time may come, when you will be glad not only to call him General, but to own Washington for your master."

CHAPTER II.

ATTACK ON THE BRITISH SHIPS IN TAPPAN BAY BY AMERICAN GALLEYS. — RETREAT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY FROM NEW YORK. — STRAITS TO WHICH IT WAS REDUCED. — DEATH OF THOMAS HENLEY. — SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY BEFORE AND AFTER THE BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS. — HIS INDIGNATION AT THE CONDUCT OF THE MILITIA. — CAPTURE OF FORT WASHINGTON BY THE BRITISH. — ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

In August, 1776, the officer who commanded the artillery at Fort Washington (a strong position on the Hudson, fourteen miles from New York) having been taken sick, Lieutenant Shaw was transferred to that command.

While there, Colonel Tupper, a partisan officer, who had distinguished himself by burning the Boston lighthouse, and making prisoners of the marines stationed for its defence, having resolved to attack the British ships in Tappan Bay with the galleys under his command, Lieutenant Shaw volunteered his services on the occasion, and was in the hottest of the action. The galleys were handled severely, and obliged to retreat. Shaw, in giving an account of the affair to his father (August 12th, 1776), says: —

"It was a hazardous design, the force on our side being so much inferior. We had only six galleys, that could bring but eleven guns, in the whole, to bear against two ships, one of twenty, the other of forty-four guns, assisted by three tenders, with the advantage of spring cables, while we were obliged to work our little fleet entirely with oars. Notwithstanding which, we engaged them within reach of their grape-shot for near two hours, when, being much damaged, two men killed, and fourteen wounded, we were obliged to retire, which we did without their pursuing; though one of our galleys lay on the careen a whole tide in sight of them. Five of the wounded fell to the share of the Washington, where I was on board; which was hulled thirteen times, besides the grape-shot received in her sails and rigging. You will, perhaps, wonder what business I had on board, it being out of my sphere, which I readily acknowledge; but the desire I had to see an affair of that nature got the better of any other motive, and inclined me to volunteer. It was no small encouragement to me, when I saw two other gentlemen come on board in the same capacity; one of whom was a merchant in the city, and the other first aid-de-camp to General Washington. The commodore treated us very politely, and, when the action came on, gave me the command of the two bow guns, which was sufficient employment for me, while my companions had nothing to do but to look on."

From Fort Washington he writes (September 18th, 1776): —

"I am, I thank God, in good health and spirits, though not pleased with our present circumstances. Ever since our retreat from Long Island, another from New York was looked upon as inevitable. This event we were hourly expecting and providing for. Accordingly, far the greater part of our army, with near the whole of our military stores, were removed; and, had we been favored with one day more, we should have made a very good retreat. I came pretty near being taken in making my escape. It was thus. A heavy firing being heard from the ships that had the evening before gone up the East River, it was supposed by us, who remained in the city, that the enemy were landing above. Colonel Knox, myself, and several others, rode up to see how affairs went; when we came up and found they had landed, the colonel sent me back into the city with orders for the companies to march up to oppose them. On my return I found the enemy had beat back that part of our army who were to cover the retreat of those from the city, and were in quiet possession of the ground. Our companies, having no infantry to support them, returned, and made their retreat under cover of some woods on the other side of the town. In getting away, I was several times discovered and pursued by the enemy, but, having a good horse, effected my escape. All my linen, my stockings, surtout, blanket, in short, every thing but what I had on, except a few articles which I left in this place when last here, are lost; the wagon in which they were sent out in the morning being taken by the enemy. However, I shall do well enough yet, as my pay is more than it formerly was, and I had many things superfluous. A soldier has no business with more than he can, on a pinch, carry off on his back. This I shall, in future, lay down as a maxim.

"We are now in a much more proper place for carrying on the war than when in New York, as the enemy's ships can now be of no service to them in attacking. The day before yesterday we had a proof of this, when a part of them attempted to force a passage through some woods, and to take possession of a number of heights, but were repulsed with loss by an equal if not inferior body of our troops, who behaved with as much bravery as men possibly could. I hope, by the blessing of Heaven, affairs will be in such a posture this way, in a few days, as to bid defiance to their future attempts. Now, or never, is the time to make a stand, and, rather than quit our post, be sacrificed to a man. For my own part, it is but little I can do, but, so long as the war lasts, I devote myself to it; and it is my sincere prayer, that the next retreat we make, rather than such an one as the last, may be to 'that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns.'" *

In his next letter (September 27th, 1776), from Fort

---

* See Washington's account of this retreat, in his *Writings*, Vol. IV., pp. 94 - 104.

Washington, the difficulties incident to the period, the strait to which the army was reduced, and his own feelings in relation to them, are strongly represented.

"I mentioned to you the loss of my baggage, — among other articles, my shirts. I should not have mentioned this loss a second time, but I have sent round to all the neighbouring towns, without success. My whole stock is reduced to one shirt and a borrowed one. Somehow or other, I must have shirts. I know not any person to whom I can apply with more freedom than to yourselves. Send me, therefore, half a dozen, with as many cravats, from Boston. Colonel Knox is very kind to me, and I have the satisfaction to think he is pleased with me. Our army is strongly encamped, and will soon be greatly augmented, and be put on so respectable a footing as to render it unnecessary on any future occasion to have recourse to the militia, on whom, by sad experience, it has been found so little dependence can be placed. The time between this and the opening of a new campaign will be, I hope (I am sure it ought to be), improved in disciplining our army in such a manner as to meet the enemy on equal terms. For, Heaven knows, it was neither our discipline nor regularity that saved us from the late impending destruction, but almost a miracle of Providence, and the infatuation of the enemy in not properly using their advantages, which were the only things that saved us from inevitable destruction.

"The severest stroke I have felt is the loss of an intimate acquaintance and sincere friend, Thomas Henley,* since I left you, who lost his life, a few nights ago, in a skirmish with the enemy at Montresor's Island. A plan having been concerted for surprising about a hundred of the enemy on that island, Henley begged very hard to go with the party detached for that service. He was in the first and only boat that landed; the other four neglecting to do their duty. They at first repulsed the enemy, but were finally obliged to retreat, with the loss of one half of the first boat's party, killed or wounded. Just as they were shoving off, one of the enemy ran down to the shore, in order to get another shot, which so incensed Henley, that, seizing a firelock from one in the boat, he sprung out, met the fellow, and bayoneted him at once. The man dropped, and Henley returned to his boat, when a winged messenger of fate from the enemy overtook my heroic friend. America at that instant sustained a loss not easily made up. He had recently been promoted. To the adjutancy, which he had resigned, I have been raised."

---

* See a noble tribute to Henley in *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., p. 137.

Again, from Fort Washington he writes (October 11th, 1776): —

"The army still remain in tents. It will be late in the season before we get into huts or barracks. After our retreat from the city, our troops had a skirmish with the enemy, and repulsed them.* Though in itself it was a small affair, the consequences were great, as the check they received will probably be a means of keeping off an attack till the spring. This is devoutly to be wished, for the aspect of our affairs at present is not very flattering, I assure you. However, we hope soon to be in a very fine way, as the Congress, *at last*, seem to think the war must be carried on upon a large scale; eighty-eight battalions, of seven hundred and odd men each, besides a proportionable number of artillery, with every thing necessary to such an army as we must have, are to be raised.† No more militia are to be called in; and, in my humble opinion, they are productive of more expense than the keeping an equal or larger number of regular troops; to say nothing of the little service they have been to us anywhere but in New England. Those from the Jerseys, and other places this way, on the appearance of the enemy, scampered off by whole companies and regiments; especially when the enemy's ships came before a fort of ours at Paulus Hook, opposite the city of New York, about a mile and a quarter distant. So great a panic seized them, that Captain Dana, of our regiment, was obliged to charge his cannon with grape-shot and threaten to fire on them; otherwise, they would have abandoned the place before he could get the military stores off.* These were your Southern heroes, fellows who affect to hold the Eastern Yankees in contempt; but I challenge them to produce an instance of cowardice in our people any way equal to this of theirs. But I don't mean to enlarge on so ungrateful a subject. Comparisons are odious. There are, without doubt, good men among them; and it would be well if every distinction of this or that colony or province could be buried in that of *American*. I wish we had more Boston young fellows among us, for I think it rather disgraceful for so many of them to be idling at home, these stirring times; and if they don't turn out, they will, when the war is over, appear very contemptible.

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 94.

† *Ibid.*, p. 116.

"When I told you that the enemy had attempted nothing, I had forgotten their three ships, which the day before yesterday went up the North River. Don't tell it to anybody, for it is scandalous. I lose all my patience while I think on it; but go they did, in spite of our contrivance with a hard name [*chevaux-de-frise*] for stopping the channel. Two of our galleys they have mortgaged, which I am heartily glad of, and wish they would hang the captains, who would have been safe enough had they obeyed orders, and come to under our fort; instead of which they sailed through a vacancy in the channel, and the ships followed them. This manœuvre of theirs will cut off our water communication for boards and bricks from Albany, and oblige us to procure those articles at a very extravagant price. Lieutenant Wragg is a prisoner, and is now at New Haven, and as saucy as ever. I am told that, being asked whom of the American officers he saw in New York, he mentioned several, and then said,—'Ah! there was my old friend, Sam Shaw, who was a clever lad, yet, a twelvemonth ago, I supposed had not acquaintance enough with the art military to distinguish one end of a musket from the other, and now he is lieutenant and adjutant in the regiment of artillery! Well, no matter, these people get their knowledge by inspiration.'

---

* "The militia have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies, at a time."—*Ibid.*, p. 72.

"I have written to you several times about shirts. I am in great want of them, and they cannot be procured anywhere on this side of Boston. I would have sent you the money, but it has taken all I had to procure me blankets, stockings, a surtout, and other necessaries, in lieu of those taken by the enemy. I will do it as soon as possible, as it really gives me pain to be obliged to call on you for assistance, after so much done for me already. Do let me hear from you by every convenient opportunity. My dutiful regards attend you. My love to my brothers and sisters. I long to be with you for a few days; but this is a happiness I may not allow myself to hope for until the war is over, and then, in God's own good time, I hope we shall have a happy meeting. To his kind providence I must commend you, confident that, as he knows, so he will do, what is best for us all."

He next writes (October 20th, 1776) from Kingsbridge: —

"I am in good health and spirits. We have left Fort Washington, the enemy having carried the greater part of their forces above, in order, if possible, to cut off our communication with the Eastern States. This movement of theirs, it is apprehended, will inevitably bring us to a battle in a few days. God grant it may be a fortunate one to us. The motions of the enemy have been such, this fortnight past, as to keep us constantly upon a sharp look-out, and have occasioned our troops so much fatigue in following them, that they wish for nothing more ardently than an engagement. This will either put an end to our *trampoosing* after them, or oblige us again to take to strong-holds."

From White Plains he writes (October 26th, 1776): —

"We shall remain at this place till we have a brush with the enemy. They are within three miles of us. Their movements have been such as to occasion us a great deal of trouble, and it is happy for us that they did not effect our ruin. Had they taken proper advantage of the ground and situation, we should have been penned up on the island, and, of consequence, for this campaign at least, have been inevitably ruined, as an army. But 'the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' Providence has turned their counsels into foolishness ; for it seems as if nothing but his interposing hand, and their infatuation, has hitherto protected us. However, we must not think he will expect nothing on our part, as we are not to sit still and wait for the salvation of God ; but, on the contrary, (in one sense of the word) our own arm must procure us the victory. In several skirmishes with the enemy, we have had constantly the better ; so that our troops are in good spirits, and impatiently desire an action. Something decisive must soon be done, as cold weather approaches and we want winter-quarters."

After the battle of White Plains, he writes (October 31st, 1776) : —

"On Monday the enemy appeared in sight, keeping on as though they intended to carry all before them. Our people were prepared to receive them, when, instead of making a general attack, as was expected, Howe marched the larger part of his army to the right, where we had a brigade advantageously posted on a hill, which commanded our camp. He carried it, being seven or eight times superior in numbers to our party there, before we could reinforce it. Deserters say, the enemy had four hundred killed and wounded ; on our part, about one hundred or one hundred and thirty. The army are no way disheartened. The enemy keep extending along the North River, which obliges us to keep in continual motion to prevent their surrounding us by seizing on the heights in our rear. This greatly fatigues our army, but by no means discourages them, as they pretty generally believe we shall beat them at last, though a few cross accidents and hard knocks may probably intervene."

From the "Camp near North Castle" (November 6th, 1776), thirty-three miles from New York, he thus writes : —

"The enemy, after threatening a battle, have left the hill they took from us on Monday, with considerable loss on their part. There are many conjectures concerning the motive for this movement. My own opinion is, that they find the grounds we now occupy are exceedingly strong, and that they cannot attack us without putting too much to hazard; to say nothing of the advanced season of the year, which must soon oblige both armies to go into winter-quarters."

His next letter was written to his friend the Rev. Mr. Eliot, in Boston, and dated on the 18th of November, 1776.

"As for our army, God help it! — for at present it is in a disagreeable state; the militia gone and going home, the time of enlistment for our regular troops expiring, and little or nothing done towards raising new ones. The severities of the present campaign will discourage many from engaging again without large bounties, so that I do not think it improbable some of the States will be under a necessity of drafting men during the war. Very different this from the last, when many without doubt entered into the service merely for amusement. Ever since we left New England we have been carrying on the war in an enemy's country, and I firmly believe, if Heaven had not something very great in store for America, we should ere this have been a ruined people. When I left the town of Boston with a view of joining our army, my enthusiasm was such as to induce me to think I should find as much public virtue among our people as is recorded of ancient Sparta or Rome. Numberless instances might be brought to show how miserably I was disappointed. Let it suffice to mention one. The militia, whose times expired yesterday, were desired to tarry for the good of their country *only four days*, and out of their whole number there were not sufficient to form one regiment who would engage. Scandalous! tell it not in Britain. I cannot wish them a severer punishment than a due reward of their ingratitude. After the new army is raised, which must be done by some means or other, I hope we shall never be again so grossly infatuated as to expect any good can accrue from calling in the militia. Far be it from me to reflect on them as individuals. I speak of them as a body, which from its present constitution can be of no service to us; for, so long as men are under no obligation to stay after a limited time, at the expiration of which neither a regard for the welfare of their country, nor a concern for their own honor, can prevail on them, they must be not only ungrateful, but a dangerous part of society.* You may perhaps, before this reaches you, be informed of Fort Washington's being in the hands of the enemy. They got possession of it the day before yesterday. We have not yet learnt the particulars, only that they made a feint of attacking some lines of ours below the fort, which induced the commanding officer to send a part of his force there. This the enemy took advantage of, by marching a number of troops they had previously prepared for the purpose between them and the fort, which, cutting off the communication, obliged them first, and, shortly after, the fort, to surrender, — on what terms is not known. I was at General Lee's just after the news came. He was in a towering passion; and said that it was a splendid affair for Mr. Howe, who was returning chagrined and disgraced at being able to make no further progress this campaign, thus *to have his sores licked by us.* However, don't let us be discouraged, for we must expect greater rubs before an empire can be established. *Ad astra per aspera* ought to be the motto for a people engaged in so arduous a task; and I heartily pray, rather than renounce that child of our hopes, that darling Independence, that we may suffer the extremes of war and desolation in all their horrors, and, after being driven from one post to another till we are pushed to the utmost point of creation, gloriously launch into the immensity of space, firm in our opposition to tyranny. You may think me too warm, perhaps; but indeed it is my serious wish, rather than again be dependent on Great Britain."

---

* This letter is in perfect unison with a letter of General Washington, dated November 19th, 1776.

"It is impossible for me to give an idea of my difficulties, and of the constant perplexities and mortifications I meet with, derived from the unhappy policy of short enlistments. I am wearied to death with the retrograde movement of things." See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., pp. 72, 182.

He next writes to his father from the "Camp near White Plains," on 20th of November, 1776: —

"Howe made a most splendid go, last Saturday, in taking Fort Washington, which he did by surrounding it by the greater part of his army. About sixteen hundred of our people were taken prisoners. It will make a pretty subject for Howe to write upon. He would otherwise have had chagrin enough, since he has done so little towards subduing America. However, we must not be discouraged. The events of war are uncertain, and Heaven has, I trust, greater things in store for this Continent than to suffer it to be overrun by such a lawless banditti as the people and ministry of Great Britain at this time are."

Again, from the same camp, he writes (November 22d, 1776): —

"Since our losing Fort Washington the enemy have landed a body of troops on the Jersey shore with a view of pushing their adventures; but I hope they will be disappointed, as we have a very respectable force there, and we shall be able to keep them at bay until the season obliges them to take to winter-quarters. This interval must be employed by us in disciplining our new army, which, from all I can collect, will be on a very respectable footing. You may perhaps, my dear parents, be desirous of knowing my intentions with regard to continuing in the service. *They are, to tarry until the war is terminated, be it longer or shorter.* In this resolution I doubt neither your concurrence, nor your good wishes, nor your endeavours to make me comfortable and easy. I sincerely thank you both for your past favors, and, with my most ardent prayers for your happiness here and hereafter, subscribe myself your affectionate son."

After the defeat of the British at Trenton, he thus writes from Morristown (January 7th, 1777): —

"You have without doubt heard of our success at Trenton.* Our army lay in the town two days. On the third day, about noon, we were alarmed by the enemy advancing, and in about two hours they came up from Princeton and drove our advanced guards into Trenton. Our people on this retreated from the thickest of the town over a bridge, and waited for the enemy to approach; but night coming on put a stop to any thing further being done at that time. In the mean while the General came to a resolution of stealing a march upon the enemy, and attacking their troops, which were left behind at Princeton, about eleven miles by a back road. We began our march about midnight, which was performed with so much secrecy that the enemy knew nothing of it till the next morning discovered that we were gone, and the first news they had of us was our beating up their quarters at Princeton. We killed, wounded, and took about five hundred of them at that place. This, with our taking the Hessians, has given our affairs quite a different turn, so that the militia are embodying in all parts of the Jerseys, and appear determined to have satisfaction for the injuries they have sustained from the enemy. I had the pleasure of being in both actions, and can truly say, I think it impossible for any troops to behave better than ours did; only at Princeton the militia, who had never seen any action, were a little skittish at first, but after that behaved very well. We are under very little apprehension from the enemy at present, as they seem very much panic-struck; and in so great haste were they to get to a place of security, that they did not stay long enough at Princeton to take care of their wounded.

"Our army love our General very much, but yet they have *one thing against him*, which is the little care he takes of himself in any action. His personal bravery, and the desire he has of animating his troops by example, make him fearless of any danger. This, while it makes him appear great, occasions us much uneasiness. But Heaven, who has hitherto been his shield, I hope will still continue to guard so valuable a life."

---

* See *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., pp. 255 – 258.

Again, from Morristown (February 11th, 1777): —

"The enemy have retired to Brunswick and Amboy, where they are so narrowly watched by our people, that they cannot get the least forage without fighting for it. In these skirmishes we have for the most part got the better of them, so that they do not venture out now in less bodies than twelve or fifteen hundred. Our army are in good spirits and growing stronger every day. The Southern troops begin to come in; and, if the New England States exert themselves in sending theirs forward, I think there will be a good chance for a bold stroke. This winter's campaign has been of infinite service to our cause. I look upon our success as an earnest of the good, which a kind Providence has in store for an injured people. A few days since a company of volunteers headed by the parson of the parish, *a Churchman*, came in from Virginia. I mention this as an instance that there are some exceptions to that almost general rule, that Churchmen are Tories."

CHAPTER III.

EVENTS OF THE WAR IN THE JERSEYS. — THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. — CAPTURE OF PHILADELPHIA BY THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. — DISAFFECTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

From Morristown, Mr. Shaw, now Adjutant, wrote to his friend Eliot, on the 4th of March, 1777: —

"Since I did myself the pleasure of writing to you, our affairs have taken not only a fortunate, but a very surprising turn, the good effects whereof we now enjoy. It might perhaps be as tedious as it is unnecessary for me to point out particulars, as the actions at Trenton, and afterwards at Princeton, are so generally known. We have had, and still continue to have, more or less skirmishing every two or three days with the enemy's foraging parties, in which, for the most part, we get the better; so that they do not pretend to come out now under twelve or fifteen hundred strong. This method of fighting I believe will not be long in vogue; for those military gentry have a great aversion to the entertainment they receive on such occasions, it being more agreeable to the genius of their army to move in a body, than to venture out in detachments. Of this we were very near having fatal experience, while we lay at Trenton, after crossing the Delaware a second time, when the enemy advanced from Princeton, with a superior force, nearly double of ours. Our out-guards were repulsed, and the enemy entered one part of the town, while we remained in possession of the other. There was now only a small branch of a river between us, over which was a bridge; this, though well secured, would have been but of little advantage to us, as the stream was fordable in every part. Our army was drawn up in order of battle, and waited the approach of the enemy; but the day being far spent put a stop to their making the attack that night. Then, my friend, — then was the most critical moment our bleeding country ever beheld. The fate of this extensive Continent seemed suspended by a single thread, and the Independence of America hung on the issue of a general battle, which appeared inevitable. But happy for us, happy for unborn millions, that we had a General who knew how to take advantages, and by a masterly manœuvre frustrated the designs of the enemy. This step, considered in its consequences, proved the salvation of the country. The most sanguine among us could not flatter himself with any hopes of victory, had we waited till morning, and been reduced to the necessity of engaging a foe so vastly our superior, both in numbers and discipline, and who could never have a chance of fighting us on more advantageous terms.

"The enemy still remain at Brunswick and Amboy, where they are pretty narrowly watched. But how long they will continue in that situation is uncertain. We have various accounts respecting the present state of Europe, and most people soon expect the declaration of a French war. Whether or not such an event will take place, I leave to that tell-tale, Time. Thus much I think, however, that, should the enemy let us alone much longer, their policy will be the derision of the whole world. It is a matter greatly controverted, whether they expect any reinforcements. If they do not (which many imagine is the case from the series of successes that attended them on coming into Jersey), it is certainly their interest to push instantly, and vigorously too, as they well know, the longer they delay, the greater advantage will accrue to us.

"I am much obliged to you for your relation of the carryings-on in our State, which, I am sorry to say, exhibit a melancholy picture of the human heart; and I sincerely join you in lamenting the decay of that public virtue, so essential to the well-being of a people. The report of Mr. D——'s going over to Lord Howe, you may be assured, is groundless; the most that gentleman can be charged with is his wanting resolution, and being of too timid a make. Your observation on General Lee's misfortune* is but too true, and conveys a lively idea of the inconstancy and ingratitude of mankind. I have heard some of those very people, who, when he was marching to join us, regarded him as the guardian angel that was to deliver America, not only censure him bitterly, but even insinuate that he was treacherous. One advantage, I think, we have reaped from that event; — the enemy must now be convinced that they have not got the Palladium of America, as they fondly boasted, but must acknowledge the genius of a Washington, which we trust, under God, is equal to the task he has undertaken."

To his father he writes from the same place, on the 27th of the ensuing April: —

"The British army, four or five thousand strong, made a forced march a few days since, with a view, in the night, of taking a party posted at Bound Brook, under General Lincoln, of three or four hundred at most. In this they succeeded but too well; for the out-sentries, on the approach of the enemy, which was silent as unexpected, ran off without giving any alarm, by which means they were so soon upon our people as to leave them but just time to make good their retreat, being almost entirely surrounded. This they did with the loss of thirty-five killed, wounded, and taken, including two officers of the Pennsylvania line, who were taken, with two pieces of cannon. This misfortune will have the effect to make us keep a good look-out for the future. Reinforcements are coming in. Now is the time to exert every faculty; and I hope, if we are not wanting to ourselves, we shall be able, by the blessing of Heaven, to make a good summer's work of it."

---

* His capture by the British at Baskingridge.

His next letter, also to his father, is dated from the "Camp near Schuylkill," September 13th, 1777.

"After so important an event as the late action with Sir William Howe,* it would argue much inattention, and with some persons might be construed into a neglect of duty, in a son, who should omit giving his parents an account of his situation. I am, thank God, in good health, and, though a little exposed, remain unhurt. As I have not time to write much, or entertain you with a description of my own concern in the matter, I am very happy in being able to inclose you a copy of the account, as transmitted to the President of the Massachusetts Council by General Knox.† From what I saw, and from the evidence I

---

* The battle of Brandywine.

† "Brandywine is a creek, which empties itself into the Delaware near Wilmington, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. On the 9th instant our army took post about eleven miles up this creek, having it in front at a place called Chad's Ford, that being the most probable route by which the enemy would endeavour to pass to Philadelphia. The enemy on the 10th advanced to Kennet Square, within three miles of our advanced parties, and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th a considerable body of their army appeared opposite to us. Immediately a heavy cannonade commenced, and lasted with spirit for about two hours, and more or less the whole day. Our advanced light corps under General Maxwell engaged the advanced parties of the enemy on the other side of the creek with success, having twice repulsed them and entirely dispersed a body of three hundred Hessians. This light corps was engaged with their advanced parties almost through the day.

"At the same time this body advanced opposite to our army, another large column, consisting of the British and Hessian grenadiers, light infantry, and some brigades, took a circuitous route of six miles to our right, and crossed the creek at the forks of Brandywine. His Excellency, General Washington, notwithstanding his utmost exertions to obtain intelligence, had very contradictory accounts of the number and destination of this column, until it had crossed the creek six miles to our right. He immediately ordered General Sullivan's, Lord Sterling's, and General Stevens's divisions to advance and attack them. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon. These divisions having advanced have since collected, I believe the account to be just; if any thing, the number put down for lost on our side is too large. No person could behave with more bravery than our troops; but, somehow or other, we were not successful. Perhaps Providence means to punish us, or intends that, by purchasing liberty at a dear rate, we should fully realize the worth of so inestimable a blessing. Our artillery acquitted themselves well, and were of infinite service in covering the infantry while rallying. My friend and brother-officer, Captain Bryant, with whom I served eight months in Foster's company, is among the slain, after doing every thing a brave officer could do; having had two officers and a number of men wounded, he received a wound in his groin. He was brought off the field, died the next morning, and is just going to be buried with the honors of war.

---

about three miles fell in with the enemy, who were also advancing. Both sides pushed for a hill situated in the middle; the contest became exceedingly severe, and lasted without intermission for an hour and a half, when our troops began to give way, many of them having expended all their cartridges. His Excellency, who in the beginning of this action galloped to the right, ordered General Greene's division and General Nash's brigade from the left; but, the distance being so great, the other divisions had retreated before they arrived. However, they formed, and were of the utmost service in covering the retreat of the other divisions, particularly General Weedon's brigade of General Greene's division, who behaved to admiration in an excessive hot fire, checked the British grenadiers, and finally, after dark, came off in great order.

"While this scene was acting on the right, the enemy opened a battery on the left, of seven pieces of cannon, opposite to one of ours of the same number. General Wayne, with a division of the Pennsylvania troops, having General Maxwell's light corps on his left, and General Nash's brigade (which was afterwards drawn off to support the right wing) on his right, formed the left wing. The enemy's batteries and ours kept up an incessant cannonade, and formed such a column of smoke, that the British troops passed the creek unperceived on the right of the battery, on the ground which was left unoccupied by the withdrawal of General Nash's brigade. A very severe action immediately commenced between General Wayne and the enemy, who

" Our troops, far from being discouraged, wish for nothing more ardently than another chance with their enemy. It is now four o'clock in the afternoon, two days after the action, and no account of Howe's pursuing, or attempting to pursue, his advantage. It is not at all impossible that he received a severe blow, and that the victory he gained may be of that kind, of which it has been said, ' Another such, and I am ruined.'

" My respects to Mr. Parker and neighbour Proctor; — tell them their sons are well, and behaved themselves bravely. Please, also, to tell Mrs. Lillie that John is safe, after being in as much fire as a salamander would choose. Both Captain Randall, in whose company he is, and himself, behaved with great spirit. I do not mention these as particular instances, for it would be injustice to the whole, but only to relieve the anxiety of their friends about them."

---

had now got possession of a height opposite to him. They made several efforts to pass the low grounds between them, and were as frequently repulsed. Night coming on, his Excellency, the General, gave orders for a retreat, which was regularly effected, without the least attempt of the enemy to pursue. Our troops that night retired to Chester, and will now take post in such manner as best to cover Philadelphia.

"Our army is now refreshed, and, if the enemy advance, will meet them with that intrepid spirit which becomes men contending for liberty and the great cause of their country. It is difficult, at present, to ascertain our loss; but, from the most particular inquiry I have been able to make, it will not exceed seven or eight hundred killed, wounded, and missing, and ten field-pieces.

" It is a common practice in war to diminish our own loss and magnify that of our enemies; but, from my own observation and the opinion of others, their loss must be much greater than ours. Time and their future operations will, I trust, prove the assertion.

" This is the most capital and general action of the present war; and, when we consider the precarious circumstances of the enemy, the views they had to take possession of Philadelphia by a single action, and the loss they have sustained without obtaining their end, it may be fairly concluded, from a comparison of circumstances, that, if the advantage is not on our side, yet they will have but little to boast of."

The next letter, written to his father, is given nearly entire.

"Artillery Park, Skippack, about twenty-four miles
west from Philadelphia, September 30th, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"When I wrote to you last, our affairs wore rather a clouded aspect; our misfortune at Brandywine occasioned some small depression of spirits in our army, which we hoped a successful turn would carry off. But, though this desirable event has not yet happened, the temporary gloom seems to be entirely dispelled, and our camp is as cheerful as ever. Since that time, we have had (I don't know that I ought to call it the misfortune) the mortification of seeing the enemy possess themselves of Philadelphia. From the account sent our good friends in Boston, they must naturally have been led to expect the news of another battle before that of the loss of the city; and I believe the General intended fully they should have had one more scrabble for it. In this, however, he was disappointed. We recrossed the Schuylkill the 14th instant, in hopes to gain some advantage by it; the next day but one after that the enemy advanced, and our army was formed in order of battle; but, rain coming on very fast, the General filed off, choosing to avoid an action in which the discipline of the enemy in the use of their bayonets (the only weapon that could then be of any service, and which we were by no means generally supplied with) would give them too great a superiority. The hot-headed politicians will no doubt censure this part of his conduct, while the more judicious will approve it, as not only expedient, but, in such a case, highly commendable. It was, without doubt, chagrining to a person of his fine feelings to retreat before an enemy not more in number than himself; yet, with a true greatness of spirit, he sacrificed them to the good of his country. We marched all night through as heavy a rain as ever fell, which damaged the greater part of the ammunition then with us. It was shortly after judged necessary to return on the other side of the river, that we might the better be able to counteract the enemy, and prevent them from crossing. This was effected in good order, and a party, under General Wayne, was left to harass their rear, should they attempt to ford. It is not my province to judge of the conduct of this party; I shall only relate facts. It was surprised by the enemy about one o'clock in the morning of the 22d instant, who rushed upon them with fixed bayonets and cutlasses, drove them off the ground, killed fifty-six on the spot, and wounded and took a proportionable number.

"In the above surprise, my friend Randall, after getting one of his pieces away, was taken while he was anxiously exerting himself for the security of that, and another, which, under cover of the night, was also got off. On finding himself in their hands, he endeavoured to escape, but the enemy prevented it by knocking him down and stabbing him in eight places. His wounds not admitting of his being carried with them, they left him at a house near the scene of action, and took his parole to return when called for, unless exchanged. It is no less true than remarkable, that a continued series of ill-luck has constantly attended poor Randall; who, no sooner than he finds himself at liberty to oppose the enemies of humanity and justice, has, by some perverse trick of Fortune, been thrown into their hands, and bound, by the strongest tie that can affect a man of honor, not to act against them. His good conduct on all, and the most trying, occasions, joined with my long acquaintance and friendship, interests me exceedingly in his behalf, and makes me anxious for his exchange, — both as it will be very grateful to him, and, I really think, beneficial to his country.

"To return. Had there been no other object but that of preventing Mr. Howe from fording the river, Philadelphia might at this time, perhaps, have remained ours. But, instead of crossing, as we expected, he moved by his left up the river, which made it necessary we should do the same with our right, in order to cover our magazines, then at Reading, it being by no means improbable he would attempt destroying them. Of this manœuvre, though under such circumstances very essential on our part, he took advantage; for, by a forced march, he returned in the night of the 22d instant, and crossed his whole army before morning. This being effected, and we left eight miles in his rear, his proceeding to the city could be attended with little or no hazard, unless we chose to attack him at a manifest disadvantage. This was by no means advisable, and Philadelphia, of course, fell into his hands. Here, again, some blustering hero, in fighting his battles over a glass of madeira, may take upon him to arraign the conduct of our general, and stigmatize the army as cowards. Leaving such to enjoy their own sagacity, it must appear obvious to men of sense and reflection, duly impressed with the importance of the great contest in which we are engaged, that a general action ought, on no pretence, to be risked under disadvantageous circumstances; nor should the safety of a single city be brought in competition with the welfare of posterity. Giving these considerations due weight, the absurdity of risking too much is evident; for, should we miscarry, posterity would execrate, and the world call us fools.

. . . . .

" Such being the situation of affairs, the inquiry naturally arises, What is to be done? are the enemy peaceably to remain in Philadelphia? I hope not. We have received reinforcements of regular troops (exclusive of between three and four thousand militia) more than will make up for our loss at Brandywine, and a desire of obtaining satisfaction pervades the whole army. Our lads are unwilling to relinquish their prospects of yet having the city for winter-quarters, and the good news from the northward adds fuel to the flame. A spirit of emulation gains ground daily, and the general wish is for a fair opportunity to signalize themselves. Under the influence of such a temper, I am persuaded our troops, when again called to action, will acquit themselves well. The time, I think, cannot be far distant. There remains much to be done on our part, and it would be infamous in Mr. Howe to content himself as yet with what he has done.

" On a comparison of circumstances in this and our army at the northward, it pretty plainly appears that the campaign, take it together, has not been too favorable to the enemy. Fortune seems to have relented; and, at a time when Mr. Burgoyne, puffed up by his too easy acquisition of Ticonderoga, was threatening us with 'devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror which a reluctant, but indispensable, prosecution of military duty must occasion,' checked him in his mad career, and gave a new face to our affairs in that quarter. This, while it is considered as a just punishment to the arrogant, may teach us that ——

"October 3d, sunset.

"I received your letter, and have only time to say, God bless my dear parents. I shall write you again.

"S. Shaw.

"October 13th.

"It is with much satisfaction I embrace this opportunity of finishing my long and almost tedious letter. When I began the foregoing, I knew of no conveyance; and, being interrupted while writing, let it lie till the 3d instant, when Captain Randall told me he should set off the next morning for Boston. Time was precious, the army just beginning to march, and not a moment to spare, which obliged me to conclude in the abrupt manner I did. He has called to see me on his way home (having been detained by his wounds), which has afforded me opportunity of giving you a short sketch of our late affair with Mr. Howe.

"Our whole army, exclusive of the necessary guards left for the security of the camp, began its march, in four columns, on the evening of the 3d instant, about six o'clock, by different roads, some of them being distant sixteen and eighteen miles, and the nearest to the enemy fourteen. Their pickets were attacked about daylight the next morning, and, after being reinforced by the light infantry of the whole line, were driven back, reinforcement and all, upon their main body. The attack of the pickets gave the alarm, and the resistance they made afforded the main body time to form, and recover a little from their surprise, which could not have been greater had they seen an army drop from the clouds to oppose them. Our lads, encouraged by so prosperous a beginning, pushed on with the utmost resolution, and broke the reinforcement coming to the relief of the pickets and light infantry. This was the critical moment; had things gone on in the same train five minutes longer, we, perhaps, at this time should have been in quiet possession of Philadelphia. But it was otherwise; unfortunately, at that most important juncture, an exceeding thick fog arose, which, joined to the smoke, made it impossible to discern objects at the distance of thirty yards, and, the firing continuing on all quarters, it was impossible, in such circumstances, to distinguish, while on the right, whether the firing heard was from our left and centre, or from the enemy. This was a very disagreeable situation for new troops, and, the ammunition being chiefly spent, our general ordered a retreat, which was performed in good order, bringing off the artillery, wagons, and wounded.

"Besides the above, I know of no other reasons which can be assigned for our leaving the ground, unless we conclude that it was not the will of Heaven we should succeed, and by *one* bold push purchase the inestimable blessing of Freedom. This, and this only, seems to be a consolation for the loss of victory, even after it was in our grasp, and is at the same time so comfortable a persuasion that I shall always cherish it. 'The ways of Heaven are dark and intricate,' and, though we cannot fathom the designs of infinite wisdom, it becomes us, notwithstanding, to acquiesce in its dispensations. For my own part, I am so fully convinced of the justice of the cause in which we are contending, and that Providence, in its own good time, will succeed and bless it, that, were I to see twelve of the United States overrun by our cruel invaders, I should still believe the thirteenth would not only save itself, but also work the deliverance of the others. This, however, is not the case. From the bravery, and, I may add, the discipline, of our troops, much may be expected. In the late engagement they did their duty, maintaining the action upwards of two hours and a half, teaching themselves and the world this useful truth, founded on experience, that *British troops* are proof against neither a surprise nor a vigorous attack. Our loss I believe to be much less than at Brandywine. The enemy's, by accounts from the city and by deserters, has been great; some say twelve hundred, some sixteen hundred, others, two thousand or more, killed and wounded. General Agnew was killed on the spot, as also was Colonel Bird, of the fifteenth regiment; General Grant was wounded. On our part, General Nash, mortally wounded, is since dead, with some other brave officers. General Sullivan's division behaved gallantly; he lost two aid-de-camps, dead of their wounds. We had three officers of artillery wounded, viz. Captain Frothingham, Captain-Lieutenant Hewman, and Lieutenant Parsons, who are all likely to do well. A proportion of privates were killed and wounded.

"Our army is now encamped in a good part of the country, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, is in good spirits, and expects soon to have the other watch.

"Though 't is something late in the day, I must, however, congratulate you on the success of our arms at the northward,—particulars of which you, without doubt, have heard. This by way of balance, as I have to sympathize with you on the loss of our forts on the North River, an event which might have been attended with fatal consequences, had it happened early in the year. The drawing of troops for reinforcing this army so weakened our posts in that quarter, that it was a great temptation to the enemy to risk a little. However, I hope they will yet be disappointed in their main object, which is conjectured to be the relieving Burgoyne, as it is not improbable there may be soon a very good account of him; if not, the hazard the enemy would run by leaving General Putnam in their rear must make them extremely cautious how they venture to his assistance.

"15th, 8 o'clock, morning.

"An important piece of intelligence arrived last night in camp. Burgoyne has received another check. Great part of his camp, nine pieces of brass cannon, and upwards of five hundred prisoners, have fallen into our hands. This, without doubt, will induce Clinton to return again to New York, as it is too late for him to relieve Burgoyne, who, to all human appearance, must be ruined. This news increases the ardor our troops have to engage the enemy, which we seem to be under a double obligation to do, — first for our country, and next for our own honor, which seems very nearly concerned; as great things are justly expected from us in this quarter, from the main American army."

The following letter, also to his father, is dated at the "Camp at White Marsh, thirteen miles from Philadelphia, November 19th, 1777."

"Although I have not received a line from my dear parents, in answer to three or four letters already written to them, I think it nevertheless incumbent on me to embrace every opportunity of acquainting them of my situation, that they may be under as little anxiety on my account as possible. I am in as good health as ever, and wish for nothing, except now and then a little sociable chat with some of my Boston friends; for really a person might live in some parts of Pennsylvania to the age of Methuselah without forming one valuable or agreeable connection. This same State of Pennsylvania is certainly the most disaffected of any of the thirteen, and seems quite ripe for slavery. Will posterity believe, nay, would the present generation credit it, did not melancholy experience make it undeniable, that, at a time when the enemy are in the bowels of their State, and possessed of their capital city, they have not more than twelve or thirteen hundred militia in the field,* and not two thirds of their quota of Continental troops? — Pitiful exertion! — yes, pitiful indeed! Had the New-England States observed a similar line of conduct, Mr. Burgoyne, instead of being at this time their prisoner, had been dealing chains and death to those who are now his masters. You may perhaps be desirous of knowing on what principles such monstrous inactivity can be accounted for. It is easily done; — one third of its inhabitants *pretend* conscience; another, are a set who wish to enjoy their property *on any terms*; while the remainder, instead of uniting to save their convulsed and distracted state, are wrangling about a form of government, which never had, and in the nature of things, never can have, any stability. But I quit so disagreeable a subject.

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. V., pp. 120 - 146, for a corroboration of these statements.

"Since the action at Germantown, nothing very material has taken place between the two armies, excepting the affair at Red Bank, and the operations in the river. Fort Mifflin has at length, after a most gallant resistance, been evacuated; though not till its block-houses were levelled, the works torn to pieces, and *all* its cannon dismounted by the exceeding heavy fire of the enemy's batteries and shipping. The noble defence of that place has been the means of keeping the enemy out of the river with their fleet, till the season has got too far advanced for them to weigh the *chevaux-de-frise.* This will render their stay in Philadelphia inconvenient, if not dangerous. It is with the most sensible affliction I must here mention the loss of a friend, almost as near as a brother, — the brave, the amiable, the modest Captain Treat, who was killed by a cannon-ball while defending his post with an intrepidity that would have done honor to an old soldier. Surely, if real merit and true courage, joined with the greatest benevolence of heart, and a most ardent desire to promote the good of his country, could 'shield one mortal from the shaft of death,' the deceased hero, who possessed those qualities in an eminent degree, had yet remained. Unrelenting war! that, without distinction, layest in the same dust the coward and the brave! I pity, — from my soul I pity, his distressed mother, who, by this severe stroke, has lost the staff and comfort of her age. May Heaven afford her that support and consolation of which she must stand so greatly in need!"

CHAPTER IV.

EULOGY OF WASHINGTON. — BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. — ARREST OF GENERAL LEE. — HIS CHARACTER. — PICTURE OF MEN AND TIMES. — DUEL BETWEEN GENERAL LEE AND COLONEL LAURENS. — EFFECTS OF THE DEPRECIATION OF THE PAPER CURRENCY.

In March, 1778, Mr. Shaw was raised to the rank of Major of Brigade in the corps of artillery. Between this period and March, 1779, he wrote to his friend Eliot six letters, from which extracts here follow in their order.

"Artillery Park, April 12th, 1778.

"It would be paying very little attention to that warm attachment which you so justly have to our illustrious Commander-in-chief, were I to omit acquainting you, that he enjoys a perfect state of health, and is the same steady, amiable character he ever has been. His fortitude, patience, and equanimity of soul, under the discouragements he has been obliged to encounter, ought to endear him to his country, — it has done it exceedingly to the army. When I contemplate the virtues of the man, uniting in the citizen and soldier, I cannot too heartily coincide with the orator for the Fifth of March last, who so delicately describes him, as a person that appears to be raised by Heaven to show how high humanity can soar. It will afford you no small pleasure to be told, that the faction which was breeding last winter in order to traduce the first character on the Continent is at an end.".

"New Brunswick, July 3d, 1778.

"You have already heard of the evacuation of Philadelphia by the enemy, and their setting out on a tour through Jersey. This tour has cost them dear. In two days after they left the city, we had upwards of two hundred deserters come in; and in three days more the number (as appeared by the town-major's books) was augmented to five hundred; these came to the city, exclusive of such as went different ways, and more or less were daily flocking in. The enemy continued their march, meeting with a variety of obstructions from the militia and our light parties, who constantly kept near them, till Sunday last, the 28th ultimo, when their rear was overtaken at Monmouth Court-house by some of our detachments sent out to harass them, and act as occasion should require. Our main body was then from six to eight miles distant, and advancing. A cannonade commenced, and it was expected the action between these two parties would have immediately become general; but our detachments were ordered to retire. I will not presume to judge of the propriety or impropriety of this measure; it is a nice point, and something difficult to draw proper conclusions. Let it suffice barely to relate facts, as I saw them, being at that time, with some officers from the main army, reconnoitring the enemy. Our detachments might consist of between four and five thousand, without cavalry, at the above-mentioned distance from the main body; — the enemy's consisted of their grenadiers, guards, Highlanders, and cavalry, of which last it is supposed there were between four and five hundred, and their main body was at hand ready to sustain them. The ground was open, and by no means advantageous to us. Would, then, an immediate attack, under these circumstances, though it would undoubtedly have distressed the enemy's rear at the first onset, yet, as it might probably have involved a general action before our detachments could receive support, have been advisable? But where am I running? Instead of giving you an account of the transactions of that memorable day, I was beginning to tire you with reflections which I have no business to make. To return.

"Our detachments accordingly began to retire, but in good order, skirmishing more or less with the enemy, who, taking courage by this movement, which they fancied a general retreat, were following briskly. Our main body having by this time got within supporting distance, the detachments made a stand, and a very hot action ensued. After much manœuvring, and many attempts to gain our flanks and rear, which were constantly defeated by the precautions taken by our illustrious Commander-in-chief, the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss, leaving many killed and some wounded on the field. They then had it in their power to bring on a general action, but the reception they met on this occasion left them no relish for such an entertainment; they called in their parties and sneaked back to a secure piece of ground three miles from the scene, from whence, at two o'clock the next morning, they went off with some precipitation, leaving, besides those on the field of battle, four officers and upwards of fifty men wounded, whom they could not take away. A pursuit would have been in vain, as our army were too much fatigued to follow with a probability of overtaking them, after having made such rapid marches to come up with them.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton (brother of the general), commanding the enemy's grenadiers, and several other officers, were found among the slain, and buried by us with the honors of war. They regret his loss exceedingly, but were sure the Americans would pay proper respect to his remains, from a principle of gratitude to his brother, who refused to draw his sword against them. I rode over the field, and the proportion of dead was at least six, some think eight, to one, on their part. Some brave officers and men have fallen on our side, among whom the detachments from the artillery came in for a share. Lieutenant M^{c}Nair from Pennsylvania had his head shot off by a cannon-ball, and Captain Cook from our State (in Crane's regiment) is badly wounded, I think mortally, besides seven killed and thirteen wounded. At present I cannot ascertain our loss, though I am sure it is inconsiderable when compared with theirs, which was greatly increased by a galling fire from a wood, that took them in flank while they were advancing to the attack of our detachments. Two days after the action, the adjutant-general told me he had received returns of two hundred and forty-seven of the enemy's dead, from the officer who had the care of burying the slain on both sides. Deserters who have come in since say they have never been so severely handled in America; and, indeed, if we judge by the affair of Bunker's Hill, it is true enough. On that occasion their loss was one thousand and fifty-three, only one hundred and sixty odd of whom were killed, which was a proportion of more than five wounded to one killed. If we follow the same rule now, it will make them twelve hundred and thirty-five wounded; taking only two thirds of that proportion, still their loss must be great, and this, too, from the flower of their army; were it otherwise, they would have kept the field, which in this case they were forced to abandon.

"During the whole action, such part of our army as were engaged exhibited a spirit which would have done honor to veteran troops; the remainder seemed impatient for the battle; not a sign of fear was to be observed. Our brave Commander-in-chief, by his gallant example, animated his forces, and, by exposing his person to every danger common to the meanest soldier, taught them to hold nothing too dear to resign for the good of their country; he thanked the whole army the next day in general orders, and made particular mention of the good service done by the artillery. The fortune of the day was great, — great in itself, and much more so will it be in its consequences; the superiority of the American arms was never so apparent; it stood confessed, and the power of Britain has received a check from which it will not soon recover. While we rejoice in our success, while we experience the pleasing satisfactions arising from a virtuous exertion in the cause of freedom and the rights of mankind, let us not be unmindful of the first great Cause and Giver of victory; but let our hearts expand with gratitude to that beneficent Being, whose providential care has hitherto conducted, sustained, and, in his own good time, will no doubt carry us through the arduous conflict.

"I am sorry to write a piece of news which must grieve every good friend to his country. You will be surprised, but it is true;

— General Lee, the second officer upon the Continent, is in arrest! The charges against him are high; *disobedience of orders* and *making an unnecessary and shameful retreat in face of the enemy*, are among the catalogue. A court-martial sat this day for his trial; a more interesting one, perhaps, never came before a court. What will be its decision, God knows. Alas, the condition of humanity! That General Lee, a character known and regarded, not only in America, but in Europe, and ranked in the first class of military fame, should have such matters laid to his charge, is melancholy. Indeed, my dear friend, it affects me exceedingly; I feel more on the occasion than I am able to express. How precarious is reputation! On what a slender thread does it depend! 'It breaks at every breeze'! These charges against General Lee respect his conduct while with the detachments of which he had the command, when they came up with the enemy, as already mentioned. It would be presumption in any officer, much more so in a young one, to give his opinion in an affair of so much delicacy and importance; it is now before a court-martial, — the members are gentlemen of approved abilities, integrity, and honor, — there let us leave it."[*]

" Camp at White Plains, August 13th, 1778.

" It was my design to write you a very long letter; for, really, my good friend, I want to say a great deal to you, as I wish to remove your prejudice (and, indeed, I think you have a little) against a certain great personage. I say great, because, notwithstanding his whimsicalities, I believe him entitled to that epithet. Two things I lay down as unequivocal, his attachment to America, and his personal bravery. Your observations on the great characters of antiquity I esteem just and pertinent, and join in thinking that great men should be possessed of great virtues. At the same time that history informs me of eminent services performed for a people, it exhibits a striking picture of their ingratitude towards the person to whom they are under the strongest obligations. I am sorry to draw a parallel to the disadvantage of my countrymen; but you must forgive me when I deliver it as my opinion, that, in some future day, the pen of calumny will attempt to attack the brightest character that has ever enlightened our hemisphere, — especially should he make an *unfortunate* manœuvre, — a man not only great in arms, but eminently so in virtues; so true is that hackneyed remark, *Finis coronat opus.*

---

[*] See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. V., p. 425.

. . . . .

"It will be no news to tell you that we are at length on this side the great gulf, Hudson's River. The ten thousand Greeks did not discover greater signs of satisfaction at seeing the ocean, than our New England lads did on arriving at the banks of this river. Well, perhaps say you, what 's to be done now? I can only answer, that I do not know; our movements, I think, will, in a great measure, depend on those of the enemy, and if, in a fit of despair, they should come out, they will find a very cordial reception. We are exceedingly anxious about the Rhode Island expedition. Lord Howe sailed last Friday from the Hook; though we cannot precisely ascertain his force, it is admitted he has received some small reinforcement. The attack was to have been made last Monday. It is a week of suspense, and every moment big with expectation. Our force there is ample, and the success, from appearances, probable."

"Fredericksburg, November 3d, 1778.

"Previous to your letter the public prints had informed me of the loss your amiable family had sustained,* and my heart sympathized in their distress. Taught in my early days to reverence the good man, and confirmed in my attachment, as well by the many endearing and benevolent qualities he possessed in the private walk, as by the shining example his public life and conversation exhibited, I feel myself a sharer in the visitation, and, from what passes in my own breast, can form some idea of the measure of your affliction, under the pressure of so heavy a misfortune. Could piety, universal philanthropy, and the virtues of humanity combined, have lengthened out the span, your excellent father had yet remained, a rich and diffusive blessing. But alas! neither these or the tears of surviving friends can avail.

---

* By the death of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot.

> 'Nec te tua plurima, Pantheu,
> Labentem pietas, nec Apollinis infula texit!'

. . . . .

"You ask whether we shall enjoy peace this winter? Indeed, my good friend, it is an interesting inquiry, and I wish it was in my power to answer in the affirmative. Yet, though it does not amount to an absolute certainty, there is much presumptive evidence that the smiling divinity will ere long visit us. The enemy are making great preparations at New York, either for a large detachment or a total evacuation. From many circumstances, and the best information, the latter seems to be the prevailing opinion; though some few think that the former will be the measure adopted, to secure their possessions in the West Indies, and that with a small force they will remain this winter, and try the effects of a negotiation. Which of these are right, time must discover. I think, however, they can have but little prospect of the success of a negotiation with a part of their force, after the whole has been found incompetent to the purpose.

"If they quit New York, they must also abandon Rhode Island, and at the same time take leave of the Continent. Indeed, if we take a view of their present distracted condition, what they ought to do is apparent; in short, it is the only alternative. Let them renounce the chimerical idea of enslaving a people determined to be free; and, instead of flattering themselves with the acquisition of new territory, let them secure that which at present they hold by a very slender tenure. Should *Monsieur le Français* make love to their Islands, and succeed in his suit, they will be deprived of a source of much wealth, and the national credit receive a shock beyond what it has ever experienced.

"In every stage of the controversy, Great Britain has manifested a spirit of perverseness scarcely to be equalled. Our most humble and earnest entreaties for peace were rejected, — an appeal has been made to the sword, — its efficacy has been tried, — and now, unable to subdue us by dint of arms, she is reduced to the necessity of carrying on the war by manifesto and proclamation. You have no doubt seen this last weapon, this swan-like production of the expiring triumvirate. Notwithstanding this, they still endeavour to keep up the farce. Their newspapers talk loudly of the folly and obstinacy of America, and warn her of the impending danger, should she rouse the British lion by refusing to comply with the gracious terms of his most gracious Majesty's manifesto and proclamation, published under his commission."

"November 20th, 1778.

"After waiting till this advanced season of the year for the moving of the waters, we are at length preparing to go into winter-quarters, which are allotted in Jersey. From their past experience, I believe the good people of that State will not consider us as the most welcome guests; for wherever an army goes, be it ever so well disposed, more or less inconvenience, to say no worse, will attend the inhabitants. The park of artillery will, I expect, be stationed at Pluckemin, a little village about fifteen miles to the southward of Morristown, at no great distance from the main body of the army. We shall all hands have to go to work, as the whole are to be hutted in the same manner as the last year; and I hope we shall make quick way in the business, as Jack Frost is a very powerful stimulus to people in such a case. When the mode of hutting was proposed, at the close of the last campaign, some treated the idea as ridiculous, — few thought it practicable, — and all were surprised at the facility with which it was executed. To be sure, it was a considerable exertion for the remnant of an army, exhausted and worn down by the severity of a long and unsuccessful campaign, to sit down in a wood, and, in the latter end of December, to build themselves houses. It will not make a disgraceful page in our 'new history.'

"A few weeks ago it was pretty generally believed, that the enemy would soon evacuate New York and Rhode Island; but now those who were then the most sanguine in their expectations of such an event seem to be much disappointed. It may, or it may not, take place. The disaster Mr. Byron's squadron has met with will, without doubt, procrastinate their departure for some time, perhaps till the spring. If so, I think our good friends and allies may have an opportunity to exhibit a little in the West Indies this winter, — unless the Count's ill-luck should still attend him. Poor fellow! I wish Fortune may be in a better humor with him than she has hitherto manifested. The sailing of his fleet, and the marching of the *conventionalists*, must, I think, have a tendency to reduce the price of the necessaries of life, and afford the good people of the town considerable relief from the hardships under which they have labored, on account of the late demand.

"It must be no small mortification to the stubborn Britons to be obliged to undertake a march at this season; but they may thank that spirit of perverseness which has been the cause not only of this, but of every other evil that has befallen them and us, for the occasion. Had General Heath been continued in the command at Boston, the departure of these gentry would, no doubt, have been a pleasing circumstance to him; — at present I think he need not be affected one way or the other. I hardly know what term to afford it, but it was a great piece of indelicacy, at least, in a certain respectable body, after the good man had gone through the drudgery of business, and that with as much propriety as any one could, to supersede him in the manner they did. I only hope that they will have equal reason to be satisfied with his successor. It is not in my power to give you a particular detail of the affair between him and Wilkinson, as I do not recollect all the circumstances; but, as far as I have been able to judge, I believe the parties acted with becoming spirit on the occasion. The papers contain a tolerably good account of the dispute between Kosciuszko and Carter. Full credit is due to what the former says, so that you cannot be at a loss to form an opinion of the matter."

"March 22d, 1779.

"It is a very common question, though I think at present a very serious one, — What do you think of the times? People who come from the eastward present us with a very melancholy picture. Depreciation of virtue, — of paper currency, which you know touches the poor soldier, — and every species of extortion, are the outlines; while luxury, effeminacy, and the long train of attendants on too sudden an accumulation of wealth, lend their assistance to finish the piece. Nor is this peculiar to the Eastern States. In Philadelphia, the metropolis of America, as some call it, every species of rascality is practised. It was a diversion, though enjoyed at the expense of one's philanthropy, to attend to the different scenes; — to say nothing of trade, and matters of that sort, which I believe are pretty generally the same. In one place, you find 'Common Sense,' Mr. Deane, and the adherents to both parties, entering the lists and kindling a flame which will not very soon subside. They have alarmed the public, and, I fear, in a great degree unhinged the confidence which ought to be reposed in its representatives. They have so twisted and tortured the affair, and that without answering a single good purpose, that all ranks are dissatisfied, though none appear to know where to fix their suspicions, or in what manner they may be removed. For my own part, I read Mr. Deane's Address to the public. I felt for him, because, from the mode of his complaining, I thought he had been injured. 'Common Sense' attacks him, — their partisans take the field, — perplexity becomes more perplexed, — *exitus in dubio est*, and the readers are left, in the condition of old Sir Roger de Coverley, to draw this conclusion, — that 'much may be said on both sides.'

"I am afraid, should I go on, you 'll think I tampered too much with my philanthropy. I can't help it, — though this I assure you, that the piece will not be overdone. Balls, entertainments, routes, rackets, assemblies, drums, &c., seem, on the other hand, to have taken full possession of all classes. Jack is become the gentleman, and, to keep up the farce, he must appear as such. Why should n't he? especially as it 's only making the purchaser pay a little more, and where 's the harm of that? In the streets, the big looks of the men of consequence, and the blustering deportment of downy veterans, almost put the poor, little, modest soldier out of countenance. For it is a certainty, that nothing has a greater tendency to make the latter discontented with his fare than these and other occurrences of a like nature, when at the close of a campaign he visits the place of his former abode ; — *docet experientia.* Nor is this all. These new gentry expect a great deal of deference, their ideas are sublimed, and, fond of imitating their betters, they cannot abate an iota of this article. Hence duels ensue, which are now exceedingly in vogue, though fortunately seldom attended with fatal consequences. Indeed, it is to be lamented that men of worth are sometimes, from the force of custom, obliged to give in to this mode of adjusting disputes. Witness a late affair of honor between two members of Congress, and another between General Lee and Colonel Laurens.

" Perhaps this is a piece of history which you may not yet have been acquainted with. On this presumption I give it you. The parties are all gentlemen, and men of true honor. The late President of Congress, in speaking before that body, observed, that he had opened a certain matter to them before he took the chair, but, as he conceived there would have been an indelicacy in prosecuting it while in that station, he had postponed it till now, when, as a member only, he could resume it without any impropriety. Mr. Penn, a delegate from North Carolina, got up and denied that the House had, at any time, been made acquainted with any part of it. This was done in such a manner as induced the other gentleman to think himself affronted. Satisfaction was demanded, and the parties exchanged a shot, but without injury to either, when, through the interposition of the seconds, an accommodation took place.

" The freedom with which General Lee had spoken of his Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, was resented by one of his aids, Colonel Laurens (son to the late President above mentioned), who wrote him a note, purporting, that as the relation he stood in to his Excellency would not allow him to hear his character trifled with, he desired General Lee to meet him in order to come to an explanation. Lee answered, that, though it was rather unprecedented in modern times for one gentleman to meet another on the principle now laid down, yet, if Colonel Laurens was desirous of reviving the ancient custom of *pro viduâ*,* he should consider himself as obliged to conform. They met accordingly. The *ultima ratio* decided the matter, and the General received his antagonist's shot in the lower part of his side. They behaved with the utmost politeness to each other, and Lee has since declared that the Colonel's conduct on the occasion was perfectly genteel, and such as had obliged him to entertain an 'odd sort of respect' for him.

"Somehow or other, I can never mention General Lee, without reflecting on the uncertainty of human prospects, so strikingly exhibited in the fall of that unfortunate man. The young soldier *must* moderate his ambition, when he sees a reputation, which had been years in growing, and which a long course of service had almost brought to maturity, fall a victim to the mistakes of an hour, and be irrecoverably ruined!

"The newspapers, I suppose, have informed you of the British progress at the southward. Colonel Campbell (the same who was prisoner) commands, and is carrying on the war in the usual mode of sword and proclamation. His letter to General Clinton and his proclamation show the man; but we hope General Lincoln will soon be able to give a good account of him. Some advantages have been already gained by our people, which have produced good effects in raising the spirits of all ranks, and strengthening the opposition; insomuch that Mr. Campbell has been obliged to call in his outposts, and proceed with the utmost caution. This has destroyed his communication with the disaffected part of the country, and will prevent his receiving the expected supplies of men and provisions. On the whole, affairs are in such a train that we may reasonably expect soon to hear good news from that quarter.

---

* "Monks, old women, and widows were, in ancient times, allowed a champion, whence the term."

"The folly and madness of Britain will become proverbial. Their inactivity during the last campaign is an indelible stain on the former lustre of their arms. Colonel Webb, who lately came out from New York on parole, says, that, previous to Campbell's expedition to Georgia, the necessity of granting Independency to America was talked of in all parts of the city with the utmost freedom. Force, they said, had been tried without effect; the opposition had been more general than was expected, and the sooner a reconciliation took place the better. This was the language of past experience; but, mark their inconsistency; — no sooner did the tidings of Campbell's success reach them but their note changed, and nothing but crushing the rebellion, and reducing America to unconditional submission, could be heard. Deluded people! they don't consider, that the longer they delay this necessary work, — for come to it they must, — the more difficult will it be. If they do not choose to negotiate with France and America now, they will presently be obliged to take Spain into the bargain.

"There has some important intelligence lately arrived on the Continent, though, for political reasons, it has not been announced to the public. Members of Congress, however, report that Spain has acceded to the alliance, and agreed upon a very considerable loan, — that the king of the Sicilies has opened his ports to the Americans, — that the empress of Russia has spurned at the proposition of supplying Britain with men and ships, — and that the city of Amsterdam was, by its influence in the States-General, agitating the question for a treaty to be entered into by the United Provinces with America, the result of which it was expected would be favorable, — and, besides all this, there was *something better still.* Various are the conjectures respecting this last article; — some, that a very capital loan has been negotiated; others, that overtures for an accommodation have been made by the British ministry to our commissioners at Paris. Whether either or both are the case, or whether 'something better still,' time will soon disclose. In the mean time we should be ready. The best way to procure an honorable peace is by being in a condition of carrying on war to advantage."

On the 28th of June, 1779, Major Shaw writes to his parents from New Windsor; and, after expressing his vivid hopes that the expedition under General Lincoln to the Southern States would terminate the war, he proceeds thus graphically to relate his view of the state of the country, and his own discouragements: —

"I wish, seriously, that the ensuing campaign may terminate the war. The people of America seem to have lost sight entirely of the noble principle which animated them at the commencement of it. That patriotic ardor which then inspired each breast, — that glorious, I had almost said godlike, enthusiasm, — has given place to avarice, and every rascally practice which tends to the gratification of that sordid and most disgraceful passion. I don't know as it would be too bold an assertion to say, that its depreciation is equal to that of the currency, — *thirty for one.* You may perhaps charitably think that I strain the matter, but I do not. I speak *feelingly.* By the arts of monopolizers and extortioners, and the little, the very little, attention by authority to counteract them, our currency is reduced to a mere name. Pernicious soever as this is to the community at large, its baneful effect is more immediately experienced by the *poor* soldier. I am myself an instance of it. For my services I receive a nominal sum, — dollars at *eight* shillings, in a country where they pass at the utmost for *fourpence* only. If it did not look too much like self-applause, I might say that I engaged in the cause of my country from the purest motives. However, be this as it may, my continuance in it has brought me to poverty and rags; and, had I fortune of my own, I should glory in persevering, though it should occasion a sacrifice of the last penny. But, when I consider my situation, — my pay inadequate to my support, though within the line of the strictest economy, — no private purse of my own, — and reflect that the best of parents, who, I am persuaded, have the tenderest affection for their son, and wish to support him in character, have not the means of doing it, and may, perhaps, be pressed themselves, — when these considerations occur to my mind, as they frequently do, they make me serious; more so than my natural disposition would lead me to be. The loss of my horse, by any accident whatever (unless he was actually killed in battle, and then I should be entitled only to about one third of his value), would plunge me in inextricable misfortune; two years' pay and subsistence would not replace him. Yet, the nature of my office renders it indispensable that I should keep a horse. These are some of the emoluments annexed to a military station. I hardly thought there were so many before I began the detail; but I find several more might be added, though I think I have mentioned full enough.

"Believe me, my dear and honored parents, that I have not enumerated these matters with a view to render you uneasy. Nothing would give me more pain, should they have that effect; but I think communicating one's difficulties always lessens, and, of course, makes them more tolerable; and I fancy it has already had some influence on me. I feel much easier than when I began to write, and more reconciled to my lot. It is true I shall see many persons grown rich at the end of the war, who at the commencement of it had no more than myself; but I shall not envy them. I must, notwithstanding, repeat my wish that this campaign may put an end to the war, for I much doubt the virtue of the people at large for carrying it on another year. Had the same spirit which glowed in the breast of every true American at the beginning of the controversy been properly cherished, the country, long ere now, had been in full enjoyment of the object of our warfare, — 'peace, liberty, and safety.' But, as matters are at present circumstanced, it is to be feared these blessings are yet at a distance. Much remains to be done for the attainment of them. The recommendations of Congress, in their late address to the inhabitants of the States, should be in good earnest attended to. We are not to stand still and wait for salvation, but we must exert ourselves, — be industrious in the use and application of those means with which Heaven has furnished us, and then we may reasonably hope for success." *

---

* The coincidence of Major Shaw's views relative to the moral and political aspect of the times with those entertained by General Washington is too striking to be omitted. In a letter to Benjamin Harrison, from Philadelphia, on the 30th of December, 1778, Washington thus wrote: — "If I were called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of every thing, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. . . . . . Our money is now sinking fifty per cent., and I shall not be surprised if, in the course of a few months, a total stop is put to the currency of it; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or supper, which will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in this business, but even from thinking of it, while a great part of the officers of our army, from absolute necessity, are quitting the service, and the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by slow degrees into beggary and want. This is not an exaggerated account." — *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., pp. 151, 152; also pp. 210, 211.

CHAPTER V.

RAVAGES OF THE BRITISH IN CONNECTICUT. — CAPTURE OF STONY POINT BY GENERAL WAYNE. — ENTERPRISE AGAINST PAULUS HOOK UNDER MAJOR HENRY LEE. — HIS ARREST FOR MISCONDUCT. — TRIAL. — DEFENCE, AND HONORABLE ACQUITTAL.

BETWEEN July and October, 1779, Major Shaw wrote three letters to his friend, Mr. Eliot, from which are extracted the following passages.

"New Windsor, July 16th, 1779.

"The sentiments expressed by you are congenial with my own, and I am sorry to find that the decay of our currency, and consequently of our public virtue, is so general. No persons are more sensible of its effects than the poor continentals. *Experientia docet.* But this is so copious a subject, that I shall wave any thing further upon it; for, when one fairly dips, there 's no emerging. I shall dismiss it with my benediction, — God speed the endeavours for producing a reformation!

"The enemy have begun to put their threats in execution. Murder, devastation, and every species of violence compose their system. Witness, ye different parts of this Continent who have felt its rage. Witness, even now, Connecticut, thy pleasant towns* laid in ashes, thy old and defenceless inhabitants slaughtered in their houses, and, shame to humanity, the chastity of thy women violated! Surely such complicated outrages call for the severest chastisement, and revenge becomes a virtue. Can, then, any American be so lost to every manly sentiment as ever to think of uniting his interests with those of a people destitute of every generous feeling, — whose oppression at first drove us to seek redress by arms, and whose cruelties in every stage of the contest have added to the horrors of war? Forbid it, Heaven! — forbid it, the duty we owe to the *manes* of our slaughtered countrymen! The most warm advocate for a re-union with such a people must now be silent, and every nerve must be exerted to repel the invader, and avenge our injured country. The rascally manner in which our enemies prosecute this predatory war would disgrace savages. To land where no opposition can be made, — to plunder, burn, and destroy defenceless towns, and on the appearance of danger run away, — is a mode of warfare peculiarly reserved to dignify the British arms. By such proceedings, the enemy have an advantage; it renders a division of our force necessary, and I fear will confine us to act more on the defensive than is consistent with the welfare of our country. But I wish the time may come when we shall have just a fair chance at them. That thirst of revenge and glory united, which pervades our troops, I am sure will lead them to the most vigorous efforts.

---

* Fairfield, Norwalk, New Haven, and East Haven. See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., p. 292.

"Give me your hand, my dear friend, and let your honest heart receive my congratulation. Take the following as an indisputable fact; — it is no Carolina story. The enemy previous to going down the river garrisoned Stony Point on this side, and the work which they took from us on the other, by which they cut off the communication of King's Ferry. His Excellency, our illustrious Commander-in-chief, having pretty good intelligence of the situation and strength of the garrison at Stony Point, determined to attempt carrying it.* The enterprise was resolved on last night, and executed this morning between one and two o'clock, by General Wayne, and the light infantry of the army, who gallantly effected one of the most complete surprises which has taken place during this war. The fort, cannon, stores, and garrison of about five hundred men, from the seventeenth and seventy-first regiments and new levies, are our own. Our killed and wounded do not amount to ten; among the latter, General Wayne slightly, who had his head scratched by a musket-ball. Notwithstanding it was night, — a surprise, — the usage of arms justifying, and the *lex talionis* demanding, a carnage, yet that humanity, that amiable weakness, which has ever distinguished Americans, prevailed. No unnecessary slaughter was made; the forfeited lives of the garrison were spared. Immediately after this affair the enemy's guard-ships went down the river, leaving their troops on the other side to shift for themselves. Perhaps something may be attempted against them, though, after such an example, it is to be supposed they will be pretty well guarded against a surprise. This success will be an incitement to future attempts, and doubtless give a complexion to the ensuing operations of the campaign. I hope it is only a prelude to something better.

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., pp. 298, 333, 336.

" The fortifications and defences of the river are in such a state, that, should the part of our army in this quarter make a movement, which is not improbable, we need be under very little, if any, apprehensions for its fate. The whole British army would not dare to storm it; and, should they regularly besiege it, our army might arrive in time for its relief. *Ergo*, I believe they will not try the experiment.

" You wish to know if General Lee will again have a command in our army? I believe not; — he cannot this campaign, as the time of his suspension will not expire till next December, one year from the confirmation of his sentence by Congress. However people may, on the one hand, pity that unfortunate officer, and lament the severity of his fate, — or, on the other, lend their assistance to asperse a reputation in military matters, till that unhappy affair, unsullied, — yet it seems the general and prevailing sentiment, that it will not be for the good of America, should he again be admitted to command. It may be so, — perhaps it is expedient that it should be so. The condition of this officer is one of the many instances of the instability of popular applause ; and the variety of opinions mankind entertain respecting his conduct must point out to the biographer how arduous is the task he undertakes. To do justice to any character is no easy matter ; but when that of a great man, — for instance, such an one as General Lee, eminent in many respects, a person in whom the contending passions by turns have their rule, and whose faults, virtues, and whimsicalities alternately succeed, and are so blended that there is no saying which predominate, — when a character of this cast comes on the carpet, it must render a proper and impartial decision exceedingly difficult."

"New Windsor, September 30th, 1779.

"Pope, in my humble opinion (notwithstanding the thought has been cavilled at by some), was undoubtedly right in his

'honest man, the noblest work of God.'

Let others be celebrated for the force of their genius, their acquirements, and the racket they make in the world, either as scholars, statesmen, or heroes, — these may make them *great;* but be it the care of you and me to cultivate that which will make us *good.* The nature of your profession inevitably exposes you to the observation of all, the narrow scrutiny of many, and the uncharitableness and ill-will of (I wish I could say *only*) a few. But under these and many other discouragements incidental to the sacred character, the '*mens sibi conscia recti*' is a never-failing support. I pray God, that the whimsicalities and ingratitude of mankind may never drive my dear friend to take refuge there. I wish you every consolation that your calling and Christianity afford ; and these, we are told, are not small. You are, I trust, pretty well acquainted with my sentiments respecting the study and practice of divinity. I had an early predilection for it. I think it the most noble employment the human mind is capable of, — and I honor its professors. But as you observe, '*Dîs aliter visum est.*' *I wished* to be a preacher of peace; *I am* a soldier, and Heaven knows what *I shall be!*

. . . . .

"I condole with you, and our disappointed brethren, on the failure of the Penobscot expedition. The disposition of mankind, as well in this as in other instances, naturally inclines them to condemn men and measures, the issue whereof has been unsuccessful. With many, to be unfortunate is to be criminal. For my own part I will not, from the little information I have received, presume to say *who* is to blame; but certainly there is blame somewhere; — whether in the preparation, the want of secrecy, or in the execution, I leave to wiser heads to determine.

"While our State are cudgelling their brains what they shall do with those whom they shall find to have been the cause of the aforementioned misfortune, some geniuses in this enlightened part of the world have used their every endeavour to ruin a man, for — what? Why, for achieving one of the most splendid actions of the war, — which you will not be at a loss for, when I mention that the object of their vengeance was Major Lee. Your opinion respecting that gentleman is exceedingly well founded. He will make a figure anywhere; as a scholar he is considerable; as an attentive, enterprising, active, good soldier, conspicuous. He has those shining qualities remarkable in the character of Cæsar, — a soul capable of attempting the most hazardous undertakings, true courage joined with a judgment and penetration beyond his years, and, above all, a modesty which would never suffer him, even under similar circumstances, to be guilty of the egotism of that celebrated commander, — '*Veni, vidi, vici.*' Agreeably to your request, I will give you a detail of the Paulus Hook affair, and of its consequences, so far as respects Major Lee.

"That gentleman, having on all occasions, by his uniform good conduct, distinguished himself as an officer, his Excellency General Washington was pleased to commit the enterprise against Paulus Hook to his charge. Having been stationed on the line with his partisan corps for near two months, he was constantly in the neighbourhood, and had frequent opportunities, as well by his own observation as by the accounts of deserters, of gaining every necessary information respecting that garrison. He communicated his intelligence to the Commander-in-chief, and at the same time proposed a plan for surprising the post. The attempt was daring, the difficulties many, the success uncertain, and the retreat, admitting the enterprise to succeed, from the situation of the place and its vicinity to New York, exceedingly precarious. Notwithstanding these obstacles, he remained fully of opinion that a surprise might be effected. He obtained the command; and the management of the affair was intrusted entirely to *his discretion.* The troops were one company of his dragoons dismounted, and three hundred men from the Maryland and Virginia line, under the command of a Major Clarke, who was joined in the detachment at the particular instance of Major Lee.

"The party marched in a good season, but by the timidity (if not treachery) of one of the guides, a considerable part of it was separated and lost in the woods, and the remainder did not arrive at their destination till almost daybreak, three hours after the time intended. This was an unforeseen difficulty, and the loss of those men rendered a new disposition necessary; but the near approach of day would not allow of it. Without suffering himself to be embarrassed by these circumstances, our hero gave the orders for an immediate attack. It was made accordingly, and crowned with deserved success. A party of the enemy threw themselves into a little inclosed work inside the main one, and stood on their defence. It was now sunrise, no time to be lost, the taking of those few refractory lads by no means an object, compared with the much greater one of making a retreat from under the very nose of the enemy's whole force. Major Lee, therefore, ordered his party, with their prisoners, to the number of one hundred and fifty-seven, to move off to a ferry, where boats were to be ready, which in a few moments would convey them entirely out of danger; for the retreat *wholly* by land was so extremely hazardous, that the Commander-in-chief absolutely forbid it. But here was a fresh disappointment. By the delay of the party beyond the time fixed, the officer, in whose care the boats were, fancied that the attack had not been made, and, anxious for their safety, had removed them. By this time the party that were lost in the night joined. Major Lee then ordered a retreat by land, and picking out about fifty of the last-mentioned men, formed them into a rear-guard, of which himself took the command, and the rest, with the prisoners, moved on. He was obliged to take these men, as those with whom he had made the attack damaged every cartridge in passing a canal, which, by reason of the delay in the night, they were obliged to pass at high water, so that in the attack not a musket was fired, the party depending solely on their bayonets.

"The enemy, in the mean while, had pushed over a party from New York; and a Colonel Buskirk, with about two hundred men, who left the garrison the day before, with a view of intercepting a small party of ours on another quarter, was still out. Lee was informed of this circumstance by one of the prisoners, an officer, whom he told that his life should be the penalty if he deceived him by false intelligence. The distance before our troops could gain their ultimate point of safety was eight miles, they having three defiles to pass, in either of which, had they been intercepted, they must have been ruined. Sensible of this, Major Lee made his main body quicken their pace, and remained himself with the rear-guard to cover their retreat. It was not long before the enemy under Buskirk came up; but, having received a check at a bridge covered by a stone house, into which our gallant officer had, after taking the planks off the bridge, thrown a few men, they returned, not being able to make any impression, and our troops gained their point.

"While the main army, who were in general orders informed of Major Lee's success, applauded his good conduct, a prosecution against him was set on foot by a number of officers in the Maryland and Virginia lines. What might have been the motive I will not pretend to say, — military folks value themselves on their candor and honor, — the *public good* was alleged to be the one in the present instance. Be that as it may, he was arrested and tried upon eight charges. I shall inclose you these charges, together with the opinion of the court before whom they were tried. Major Lee, on finding himself in this predicament, applied by letter to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, requesting that he would be pleased to give him in writing the substance of the instructions he had the honor to receive from him verbally previous to the attempt. His Excellency complied with the request, and I had the satisfaction of seeing the paper. The particulars, as far as my memory serves, were, that he should go down with the troops allotted for that service, endeavour to gain further information, and if, after having done it, the enterprise should appear too hazardous, either in the execution, or the difficulty of effecting a retreat, he was at liberty to abandon it. The necessity of making a timely and safe retreat was very strongly inculcated, and he was directed to lose no time in attempting to remove or destroy any stores there, or even in collecting stragglers; the object of the enterprise being to throw a lustre upon our arms, by surprising the post and immediately retiring with such prisoners as he could conveniently make.

" This, I am pretty sure, was the spirit of what I saw, under his Excellency's own hand.* How far Major Lee came up to it, his success and the very honorable testimony of the court-martial will evidence. Major Clarke, who is exceedingly the gentleman, advised and endeavoured to dissuade those officers from the prosecution, but in vain. On the trial, he supported this character; though the only person who could reasonably be thought to be injured by Major Lee's having the command, his whole evidence, as well as that of every other person examined, might be considered as an encomium on his conduct. I was present when Lee made his defence. It was perfectly *extempore*, consisting of remarks on the evidence, the aforesaid instructions, and his own orders to the troops previous to the attack, and his subsequent directions; concluding nearly in these words, which a consciousness of his innocence enabled him to deliver with a becoming confidence : —

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., pp. 326, 333, 336.

" ' I have now gone through with my defence, and, after thanking the court for their attention and the patience with which they have heard me, have only to beg, that, whatever may be their decision, it may be *pointed.* If I have misbehaved, punish me with severity ; but, if it shall appear that I have done my duty, and that the prosecution is groundless and vexatious, I trust, gentlemen, you will tell the world so.'

" The court, as you will see, have acquitted him, in a manner which does both him and themselves the highest honor. Thus, my dear friend, I have given you the particulars of this interesting affair. It has led me, unawares, far beyond what I intended ; however, if it should prove tedious, you must e'en thank yourself, — and me too, for I really meant to oblige you.

" As I have begun a new sheet, I wish it was in my power to tell you a little good news ; but all we have at present is second-hand, — it comes from your way. Suppose we hazard a conjecture. Should the French fleet arrive at the southward, and orders be given to General Lincoln to coöperate, might we not hope that the destruction of the British armament in that quarter would be the consequence ? Alas, poor John Bull ! what a hobble have you got yourself into. It is now no longer a babyish quarrel with your daughter, but a serious contention with France, Spain, and America. How different from what you were at the conclusion of the last war ! — your arms victorious in every quarter of the globe, — your fleets triumphant on the ocean, — your enemies ashamed, — your subjects happy, — and your then colonies contributing cheerfully in supporting your credit and independence, in which their own welfare seemed so closely interwoven. Look upon what you then were, and weep ! — consider what you now are, and tremble for what may yet befall you !

" Our troops and those of the enemy occupy nearly the same posts as heretofore. They look on Stony Point as impregnable, and we consider West Point much in the same light. I believe neither will be attempted this campaign. They are, however, plotting — a few days will discover what; perhaps some rascally, plundering, predatory expedition. Upon my honor, were I a general, I would hang every scoundrel taken in such an unmanly piece of business."

"New Windsor, October 19th, 1779.

"I have seen a very pretty plan of operations chalked out in a late paper from our town, the issue of which, no doubt, is generally expected to be the reduction of New York and the capture of all who have taken refuge there. It is strange that a matter which has only been whispered in the army, and which, should the undertaking of it be judged expedient, one would think ought to be kept as secret as possible, should nevertheless make its first appearance in the public papers. Don't you remember the secret expedition, *publicly known*, under General Spencer, to Rhode Island? and, to come nearer home, letting the cat out of the bag in the Bagaduce affair? It is confidently asserted, that Sir George Collier has declared upon honor he had no other intelligence respecting that enterprise but what he got from a Boston paper, consequent on which alone he took his measures. If this be really a fact, the conclusion that secrecy is ever the soul of enterprise must be self-evident. However, experience will teach politicians wisdom.

"From your account of the convention for forming a constitution for our State, and from others, I flatter myself with the expectation of seeing a good one. I am told it will be similar to, or rather an improvement on, that for this State, the only new one in the Union deserving that name. The want of energy in, and the opposition to the constitution of, Pennsylvania have already produced very tragical effects. Six men perishing in a contest respecting a government originating in the people is no favorable argument in behalf of human wisdom. I hope the States whose governments are yet to be organized will profit by this melancholy lesson. How will the enemy exult over this instance of public imbecility, and triumph when it is mentioned? Citizen against citizen! how will the tale sound in the ears of posterity?

> 'Audiet pugnas vitio parentûm
> Rara juventus.'

I will neither pain you nor myself by a recital of this unhappy transaction; it has undoubtedly been told you. Would it could be buried in oblivion!

"Pray, my dear friend, how go on your own concerns? Does the door of admission yet stand open, or have you already entered? For my own part, I know not when I shall arrive at my point of rest. The time I should have employed in making a fortune has been spent in the army, in the service of my country, and though the effect of this may be poverty, the reflection is nevertheless a source of true satisfaction. . . . . My ideas of happiness are altogether social, and at the same time moderate. Such a run of business as to place me above dependence, and leave me a little leisure for domestic concerns, — a dear partner in those concerns, with a circle of friends, — and I would envy neither hero or statesman. Thus happy, I would enjoy life while it lasted; and, should Fortune so order that my friend and I pitch our tents in different quarters, I will console myself under the separation, as I do now, by cultivating such an intercourse with him as circumstances will allow."

On the 24th of December, 1779, he writes to his brother Nathaniel: —

"The army have, in the usual manner, after the fatigues of the campaign, completed their huts, and are now in comfortable quarters. Hutting was a monstrous undertaking at Valley Forge, in 1777, but it has now become an easy employment, and, should the war continue a few years, it will be mere matter of amusement; so much do necessity and custom reconcile mankind to what once appeared almost insurmountable difficulties."

On a duel, which had occurred in the vicinity of the camp, in which the *injured party had the satisfaction* to receive two balls in his breast, he remarks in the same letter to his brother : —

"There is something really ridiculous in this mode of adjusting disputes. One man calls another a rascal, and, *by way of satisfaction*, shoots him through the body ! Absurd soever as this kind of arbitration may be, yet custom, that tyrant custom, and

'the world's dread laugh,
Which scarce the firm philosopher can scorn,'

have rendered it infamous for gentlemen to decline it, — its influence being felt, not only by those whose profession is the sword, but extending to the more peaceable walks of domestic life."

CHAPTER VI.

INCURSION OF THE BRITISH INTO THE JERSEYS. — ARNOLD'S TREACHERY. — DIFFICULTIES IN THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS. — THE COMMAND IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT CONFERRED ON GENERAL GREENE. — HIS CHARACTER AND POPULARITY.

Until April, 1780, Mr. Shaw's rank in the line of the army was only that of Lieutenant. He, at this time, received a commission of Captain in the third battalion of artillery, and continued to sustain the office and rank of Major of Brigade. On the 20th of June, 1780, he wrote from "Short Hills": —

"Three days after getting to camp, we had intelligence of the enemy's making an incursion into this State from Staten Island. This was on the 7th instant. Our army was immediately put in motion to coöperate with the militia and a detachment of Continental troops, who, being in the neighbourhood of Elizabethtown, where the enemy landed, harassed them exceedingly in their approach. This small body was, however, obliged to retire before their superior numbers, until our army, — *such as it was*, — came up. The enemy then took a strong position near a small village, called Connecticut Farms, where they burned upwards of twenty dwelling-houses and other buildings, besides the meeting-house, and committed such enormities as would have disgraced savages. Helpless women and children were forced from their houses, which were immediately set on fire, before the unfortunate sufferers could have time to save so much as their clothing from the flames! The wife of Mr. Caldwell, a preacher of the gospel, and a patriotic Whig, was shot by two soldiers while sitting in a back room with her children, where she had retired in order to be safe; and, before her corpse could be removed, they had put fire to the house. It was, however, by a considerable exertion of the neighbours, taken away before the house was consumed. I should go near writing a volume were I to relate every particular instance of their barbarity. Suffice it to say, that it has never been exceeded by them since the commencement of the war. In the evening of the same day they returned to Elizabethtown Point, where they still remain, under cover of Staten Island and a number of armed vessels which have been brought up for their protection.*

"The enemy have been greatly disappointed in this expedition. They had been told, that, should they march five thousand men into Jersey, the inhabitants of the State, *so dispirited as they must be on account of our misfortune at the southward*, would submit without resistance; and that the soldiery of the Continental army would desert to them on every occasion. But, thank Heaven, in this they reckoned without their host. Nothing could surpass the spirit with which the militia turned out. It was Lexington repeated; and, had there been a sufficient regular force to make a general action on our part warrantable, the most ample revenge would have been taken on those cruel and merciless incendiaries. I could almost curse the country we are fighting for. Think, my friend, of our mortification on seeing a number of the enemy, not exceeding five thousand, laying waste the pleasant fields and burning houses almost under our noses, and then retiring, without our daring to pursue. The army have never experienced any thing like it before. It is amazing, — *and it is true*, — that a community, at open war with an enemy in the very bowels of it, should not be able at this season, this late period of the contest, to have a force in the field sufficient to chastise the ravages of so inconsiderable a number as I have just mentioned. Indeed, it should seem so improbable, that I can hardly suppose it will gain credit with a person who has not been an eyewitness to it. But, believe me, our army — our *grand* army, with the illustrious Washington at the head of it — did not amount to three thousand men! And, were it not for the assistance we received from the militia of this State, it would not be able to keep the field.

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII., p. 76.

"Charleston has fallen. This, though at present a severe shock, will be productive of very happy consequences. People begin to awake, and recollect that the war yet rages. Pennsylvania has put herself under military government, and her President, with his council, is vested with all the powers of a Roman dictator. This must certainly fill up *her* battalions; and, in addition to the powers of government, *hard money* to the amount of upwards of six thousand pounds is already subscribed for that purpose. Jersey is immediately to fill up hers by a draught from the militia. In short, there are hopes we shall yet prosecute the war with vigor, if the States follow the good example set them by Pennsylvania and Jersey. Without a great exertion this campaign, future resistance will be in vain. Now is the time. A hearty coöperation with our good allies, who are daily expected, may terminate the war in our favor. The enemy are preparing for such an event. Sir Harry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, with between three and four thousand troops, arrived at New York last Saturday from Carolina, so that we may soon expect stirring times."

On the 10th of August, 1780, he writes from the camp to his brother Nathaniel, complaining of his pecuniary embarrassment on account of the depreciation of the currency, of the arrears due to him, and of his disappointment at not receiving them.

"The quartermaster-general has had no money in his department for upwards of ten months. The army have not received a dollar since last December. This must be my excuse for my non-compliance with my engagements. Our army is at Dobbs's Ferry, on the North River, twenty-five miles from New York. As to numbers we are pretty respectable. But alas! we have more men than soldiers. The levies are almost totally unacquainted with service, and, what is worse, by the time they will be good for any thing, their enlistments will expire. These short enlistments, and the amazing bounties given to the levies for six months, greatly discourage our veteran soldiery, and I fear that, if such measures are again repeated, the army will hardly be kept together. Had spirited exertions been made, in the first instance, for raising an army during the war, the contest ere now had been at an end, and America in quiet possession of her independence; an event which may now, probably, be at a distance.

"We are in expectation, shortly, of forming a junction with our allies, and commencing our operations. It is painful to think that our country, instead of exerting the powers God has given her to work out her own salvation, should be under the necessity of calling in foreign troops. It is a disgrace we shall not easily get over. As to a navy, we must be indebted to such friendly powers as will furnish us with one. But, while the inhabitants of America are so numerous, the employing of foreign land troops will make an infamous page in her history. I speak as a citizen of America. I love the French; but, unless we learn to do without their assistance, or that of any other power by land, we shall become contemptible as a nation."

On the 31st of August, 1780, he again writes to the same brother: —

"For the last eight days our army has occupied the grounds in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee, about fourteen miles from New York. The country between us and the enemy, and below them, has been pretty thoroughly gleaned by us of the little the enemy left there. We call this foraging; but it is only a gentler name for plundering. It is, however, customary in war, and of course justifiable. Two motives in the present instance render foraging necessary; first, to prevent the enemy from drawing these supplies when they should feel themselves pinched, and to support our own troops, who were three days without meat before the measure was adopted, and have now no other animal subsistence but what is obtained in this way. In truth, it may be said *that our country neither pays, feeds, nor clothes its armies*."

On the 27th of September, 1780, he wrote from "Head-Quarters at Robinson's House" to the Rev. Mr. Eliot: —

"Were I writing to any friend but a *reverend* one, I should say, the Devil has been to pay in this quarter. His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, the Marquis de la Fayette, and General Knox, with their suites, came here on the 25th, from visiting the French general and admiral at Hartford, when a scene was unfolded, the relation of which will make your ears to tingle. Alas, my dear Eliot, how little do we know the human heart! Arnold* has gone to the enemy! — America has tottered on the brink of ruin, and, had not the treachery been providentially discovered, West Point and its dependencies had probably at this time been possessed by the enemy. By means of some of Clinton's emissaries, an interview was brought about between Arnold and Major André, late an aid to Sir Harry, but now Adjutant-General to the British army. He came up the river in the Vulture man-of-war, and met Arnold at the house of a Mr. Joshua Smith, at Haverstraw, where measures were concerted between them for betraying these posts. During these transactions the Vulture shifted her position, as she lay exposed to the fire of a cannon, which had been sent to annoy her. This, as it rendered André's return difficult, determined him to try his fortune by land. Accordingly, by virtue of a pass from General Arnold, he crossed King's Ferry, disguised as a citizen, under the name of John Anderson; and, after having got without all our patrols, was taken up by some militia, or rather a species of freebooters, who live by the plunder they pick up between the lines. There was something extraordinary in the manner of his capture. As soon as the men presented themselves, he said, supposing them to be some of De Lancey's corps, that he was a British officer. But on finding his mistake, he produced General Arnold's pass, and offered them his gold watch if they would suffer him to go on. They took the watch, and searched him for money; but, not meeting with any in his pockets, they pulled off his boots, on which he exclaimed, 'All 's gone, by G—.' Here they found an exact plan of all the works at these posts, a particular description of the nature and strength of each, their dependence one on the other, the number of troops necessary for their defence, and the number and distribution of those he at present had for that purpose, his dispositions and orders in case of the enemy's appearance, and directions for attacking the weakest and most vulnerable parts, together with an exact return of all the ordnance and stores, and how disposed of. Besides these, there was found a copy of the state of our army as it stood the 6th instant, which Arnold had received some days before. Also, other papers containing remarks on our political affairs, the state of our currency, the difficulty with which the war was carried on, and our prospects as to foreign connections, — all tending to point out the necessity of the enemy's improving the present opportunity. These papers were principally in Arnold's own handwriting.

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII., pp. 215 – 217.

"André, on this discovery, offered his captors five hundred guineas, and indeed any thing they would demand, provided they would permit him to escape. But all would not do. They brought him to the Continental officer commanding on the lines, who wrote to Arnold that he had taken a spy by the name of John Anderson; but said nothing of the papers, which he sent by another hand to General Washington, then within a few miles of West Point, on his return from Hartford. Arnold received his letter first, and, finding the plot was discovered, went immediately down the river and got on board the Vulture. His Excellency was then in sight, and coming directly to Arnold's quarters, who desired one of his family to excuse him to the General, as he was absolutely obliged to go immediately to West

Point, but should be back in two hours. His Excellency and the company, not long after, went over to West Point to view the works, supposing he should see Arnold at the same time. On our return, he was presented by an express with a letter informing of the capture of André, and inclosing the papers taken with him. This disclosed the whole, and the absence of Arnold was no longer a mystery. His Excellency immediately ordered two brigades from the main army to these posts, and has taken ample measures for their security.

"This matter was so managed by Arnold, that no person was in the secret excepting the aforesaid Smith, who was a necessary agent. He was taken in bed at Fishkill the same night, before he heard of the discovery, and will meet the just punishment of his demerits.

"Thus, my friend, you have a narrative of a conspiracy which, considering every circumstance, stands without a parallel. That a man, whose reputation as a soldier was universally acknowledged in all parts where the history of our contest is known, who stood so fair in the list of fame, and shared so largely in the military honors of his country, should at once plunge himself so deeply in guilt, is a consideration which reflects no honor on human nature. Avarice was his darling passion, and to that he fell a sacrifice.

'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?'

Whether the enemy fulfil their engagements with him, or consider him as an acquisition to their party, is by no means material to us. His failure in this capital undertaking will soon destroy any influence he may have with them. They, on their part, will feel the loss of André. His military knowledge, his address and talents, were so exceedingly necessary to Sir Harry, that nothing of any consequence was undertaken but by his concurrence and approbation. It is said, he was the soul of their army. However, were he ten times more than he is, the fate of a common spy will be his fate."

On the 1st of October, 1780, he again writes to the same friend : —

" We are now returned to our former camp at Tappan, from whence General Lincoln sets out to-morrow morning on his return to Boston. This amiable man has been endeavouring to negotiate an exchange with the enemy, but some difficulties which cannot easily be got over have occasioned the accomplishment of this desirable object to be again postponed. I fear Congress, as well as the people at large, do not properly attend to the distresses of our unfortunate brethren in captivity, or they would otherwise accede to the mode at this time proposed. The enemy ask a *general* exchange ; we offer an exchange of *officers only*, — because the exchange of their privates would be a reinforcement to them which might probably prove prejudicial to us. So, because our rulers have been inattentive to the first interests of this country, I mean the establishment of a regular army for its protection, we are under a necessity, *for the good of our country*, of permitting the most flagrant injustice. This, as you divines style it, is ' going on in sin that grace may abound,' with a witness..

" Before you receive this, people will, I imagine, have recovered themselves a little from the horror in which the intelligence of Arnold's villany must have thrown them. Great Heaven! what an escape we have had ! The loss of any three capitals on this continent would not have been a misfortune of equal magnitude. West Point and its dependencies constitute the palladium of American independence ; and, this grand link in the chain of our union being once broken, we may bid adieu to peace, liberty, and safety. Considering the many obstacles we have to surmount in keeping up the existence of our little army (owing to the supineness which pervades the whole body politic), even now that the communication is open, — certainly, had it been destroyed, the continuation of that existence would have been a miracle. The enemy would, had the treason succeeded, have had entire possession of the country from New York to Ticonderoga. This, with the impression they have already made on the Southern States, would have reduced us to an extremity from which nothing, in the present spirit of the times, but a creating power could have extricated us.

"We have had one escape, but the danger is not yet over. The enemy have a powerful armament by sea and land; and, though they now treat us with respect, they will undoubtedly watch the period of the expiration of our new levies' enlistments, when we shall not have one half of our present force to enable us to counteract them. Notwithstanding I shudder at what *may be* the consequence, yet I do not despair. Mine is not the language of despondence. I have seen America at her lowest ebb, and I have been a witness to the turning tide of her good fortune; indeed, from her recent deliverance I am convinced she is not to be lost. Ought we not, however, to use the means Providence has intrusted to us, if we wish to see the end happily accomplished? For shame! let us bestir ourselves, as a people worthy the blessings for which we contend. The present campaign is hastening to a close. Our gay prospects of conquest are vanished, 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' and our only hope, under Heaven, is in the improvement of the interval between this and the opening of another campaign.

"Somehow or other, I cannot get Arnold out of my head. Nothing has transpired more than I wrote you when on the spot, excepting the reception he met with in New York. It does not appear that he is exceedingly caressed there. The apprehensions of all ranks in their army for the fate of the accomplished, the enterprising André, make them view and curse Arnold as the cause. Sir Henry Clinton is almost frantic upon the occasion, and, it is believed, would sacrifice a thousand Arnolds to his safety, could it be done without fatal injury to the policy and faith of his nation. As it is, poor André is to make his exit at five o'clock this afternoon. A board of general officers found him guilty of a violation of the laws and customs of nations, and accordingly sentenced him to die. His behaviour previous to and at his examination was decent and manly, and I dare say his judges felt no small share of pity when they passed the fatal sentence. How much more grateful a sacrifice would the perfidious Arnold be to the just resentments of his injured country!"

On the same day he writes to his father from the camp at Tappan: —

"I suppose you have all been, as it were, thunderstruck at Arnold's conduct. It wants a name. It can scarcely be matched by any piece of villany, ancient or modern. I have not time at present to detail that most diabolical piece of rascality. Thank Heaven! it was discovered in season to prevent the dreadful train of evils which might otherwise have been its consequence. The situation of our public affairs is truly alarming. It is growing worse every day. The fleet of our allies, which was to assist us in the conquest of New York, is blocked up at Rhode Island. This is not uncommon in war. The next throw of the die may reduce our enemies to a similar condition. But we must not permit the liberties of America to depend altogether upon chance. Without vigorous exertions they may be lost. This is not impossible, though one would judge it was, from the behaviour of the people at large."

On the 20th of October, 1780, he wrote thus to his brother William, from the camp at Totowa, in New Jersey: —

"Do you wish to know what our army have done this campaign? The answer is easy. Nothing. The superiority of the British in our seas has rendered the assistance afforded us by our generous allies entirely useless, and the sanguine hopes we had of going hand and hand to New York have proved abortive. As far as depended on us, every measure was taken to induce the enemy to settle the matter genteelly in the field. Our positions were frequently made, in such a manner as gave them every advantage over us in point of situation, and could be justified on no other principle than as being designed merely as invitations to them to enter the lists. Their commander, Sir Harry, as often declined accepting them. Thus the campaign is drawing near to a close, and our conjectures are now employed in endeavouring to find out with certainty what designs the enemy have for the ensuing winter. It is generally supposed they will prosecute the war vigorously at the southward; and, indeed, there is much to be feared on account of our friends in that quarter. A reinforcement of about three thousand troops sailed the day before yesterday from New York, at which place a larger number has lately arrived from England, so that the garrison there is not weakened by this detachment. Congress begin to be alarmed for the safety of the Southern States. They have recalled Gates, and desired General Washington to send a commander for that department from this army. General Greene is to go. Let the people in that quarter furnish the men and the necessary supplies, and, if any thing is to be expected from the abilities and exertion of a single person, I think no one will be more likely to answer every reasonable expectation than this amiable officer. There can be no better proof of his worth than the universal regret which all ranks among us feel at the idea of parting with him, although the good of our country calls loudly for the separation. A glorious tribute this, which can only be paid to true merit.*

" The war is but just begun. The enemy seem determined to avail themselves of that languor which pervades and clogs our public transactions. While we are engaging levies for three and six months, they are receiving recruits which are substantial reinforcements for the war. Our whole system of politics must be changed. It is time the country realized that an enemy is in its bowels; and experience ought to convince them of the absolute necessity there is for providing a *permanent force*, sufficient to defend its invaded rights and secure to us a happy issue of the present contest. The interval between now and the opening of another campaign is big with importance. On the improvement of it will probably depend our existence as a nation."

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII., p. 275.

CHAPTER VII.

REVOLT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. — THE FRENCH ARMY UNDER ROCHAMBEAU. — BATTLE NEAR THE COWPENS. — REVOLT IN THE NEW JERSEY LINE. — A SUBALTERN'S OUTFIT IN THE AMERICAN ARMY. — IMPOSITIONS ON THE ARMY, AND THE INJUSTICE DONE TO ITS SOLDIERS BY THE STATES. — CHEVALIER MAUDUIT DU PLESSIS.

On the 6th of January, 1781, Major Shaw writes to the Rev. Mr. Eliot from New Windsor: —

"Be prepared, my dear Eliot, for a shock, and attend to an event which must sensibly affect every honest heart. The accumulated distresses of the army have at length produced most dreadful effects. The noncommissioned officers and privates of the Pennsylvania line, stationed at Morristown, have mutinied, broken up their cantonments, and in a body are marching to Philadelphia, to demand redress of their grievances from Congress.

"The particulars of this revolt,* as nearly as I have been able to collect them, are as follow. On the 1st instant, the whole line, except three regiments, by a signal given for that purpose, turned out under arms, without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. General Wayne and the officers did every thing that could be expected to quell the tumult, but in vain. Numbers of them were wounded, and one (a captain) killed. The three regiments above mentioned paraded under their officers, but, being called on by the others to join, threatened with death in case of refusal, and actually fired on, they complied. They then seized upon the field-pieces, and forcing the artillery-men, who had not yet joined them, to do it instantly, under penalty of being every man bayoneted, the mutiny became general.

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII., pp. 348 – 362.

" Besides the many and complicated injuries, arising from the want of clothing, pay, and provision, which the army at large have for so long a time groaned under, there was one circumstance peculiarly aggravating to the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, and which conduced not a little to hasten the catastrophe. A deputation from the State had arrived in camp a few days before, with six hundred half-joes, to be given, three to each man, as a bounty to such of the six-months levies, whose times were then expired, as would enlist again for the war. This was too much for veterans who had borne the burden of the day to put up with. They made it the principal article of grievance, and told their officers they neither could nor would be any longer amused; that they were determined, at every hazard, to march in a body to Congress and obtain redress. On General Wayne's cocking his pistols there were a hundred bayonets at his breast. 'We love you, we respect you,' said they, 'but you 're a dead man if you fire'; and added,—'Do not mistake us; we are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, were they now to come out, you should see us fight, under your orders, with as much resolution and alacrity as ever.' They began their march that night, and the next day General Wayne forwarded after them provisions, to prevent the otherwise inevitable depredation which would be made on private property, himself and three principal officers, supposed highest in their esteem, following to mix with them, assist them with their advice, and endeavour to prevent any outrages. They were civilly received, have acquired much of the confidence of the troops, and are conducting them to Pennsylvania.

" Immediately on this event the Jersey line were posted in the neighbourhood of Elizabethtown, where they are joined by a body of the militia of the State, constituting a force sufficient to frustrate any attempt of the enemy to avail themselves of this unhappy affair.

"Thus, my dear friend, is the scene opened; when it will close, and what may be its final consequences, God only knows. At any rate, it is a reproach to our country, and must materially injure, if not totally ruin, the discipline of its armies.

"To relieve both yourself and me a little from our present anxiety, I will give you the substance of two very agreeable pieces of intelligence from the southward, which are announced in the general orders of this day. Tarleton, the famous British partisan, having formed a design of surprising General Sumpter, made an attack on his post with the legion, consisting of about five hundred cavalry and infantry. In the first onset he was repulsed by Sumpter's out-parties; but, returning to the charge, he drove them in upon the main body, who by this time were formed in good order, and received him so warmly, that he was obliged to retire with the utmost precipitation, leaving ninety-two killed, and one hundred wounded, on the spot. What is remarkable is the small loss our people sustained, having only three killed and four wounded; among the latter is the gallant Sumpter himself, in the shoulder. The other is a very pretty stroke, and discovers much address. Colonel Washington, with ninety dragoons, having information of a party under a Colonel Rugeley, at Rugeley's farm, determined to attack them. On his approach they betook themselves to some log buildings, and stood upon their defence. Washington called on them to surrender, which they refusing, he mounted a pine log on the small wheels of a wagon, and, advancing with this new-constructed artillery, threatened them with the consequences of their obliging him to storm their garrison. This had the desired effect; they surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of one hundred and twelve.

". . . . . Accept, my good Sir, of my warmest acknowledgments for your friendly and affectionate condolence on the death of my brother. Your observations and advice under this dispensation of Providence, at the same time that they evince the sensibility and goodness of your heart, I pray they may have a suitable influence in healing the wound inflicted on mine. How much pleasure have I enjoyed in anticipating that happy period, when I should sit down, after the fatigues of war, and participate with my brothers the blessings of peace. A considerable part of the endearing prospect has vanished. Heaven gives the call, — and man must submit without repining. Long, very long, my amiable friend, may it be before your heart experiences the distress of a similar bereavement. That Heaven may bless you, and grant you a succession of happy years, is the fervent wish of your sincere friend."

On the 13th of February, 1781, he again wrote to the same correspondent.

" On our return to this place, we called at Rhode Island to pay our respects to *Messieurs les Français*, with whom we passed two days most agreeably. Their politeness and attention to us could not be exceeded. They showed us every thing, both by land and by water, and we in our turn were pleased with every thing. This was very civil, you will say; but, seriously, I never wish to see a better army, for its numbers, than that of our good allies at Newport. No troops that have ever yet been at Boston can be called their superiors, and I suppose the flower of the British army may fairly be included in that number. Add to this, that their officers, as a body, are perhaps the likeliest and genteelest set of men in the world. Probably you may think me a little extravagant in my encomium. But consider, my friend, we have been taught to view these generous fellows through the medium of prejudice, and it has been the *forte* of our wily foe to keep us in the dark respecting their true character. I must freely confess I was not entirely free from this prejudice till I had an opportunity of being convinced of its unreasonableness. I am now fully and decidedly of opinion, that a Frenchman is as good as an Englishman, or any other man whatever; and I have not a shadow of doubt, that, if ever we should be called to try the dangers of the field together, Mr. British will be found to have scandalized and calumniated these good folks without any foundation.

" Give me your hand, my honest old friend. I 've a most capital piece of intelligence for you from the southward. It arrived piping hot this morning at head-quarters. General Morgan, who was the rifle colonel in the Northern campaign of 1777, has ruined Tarleton, the celebrated British partisan, horse and foot. It seems that Morgan, who commanded the advanced corps of our army in that quarter, had the address, by retreating from before Tarleton, to engage him in a pursuit, and by that means draw him away at a distance from the main body under Cornwallis. As soon as Morgan had got to a convenient position, he made a stand, and was immediately attacked by Tarleton, whom he finally repulsed so effectually, as to kill, wound, and capture almost the whole of his party. I cannot give you a better account of this gallant action than by transcribing General Greene's orders on the occasion.

" ' **Head-Quarters, Hicks's Creek, Tuesday Evening, January 23d.**

" ' The General is happy to congratulate the army on the glorious victory obtained by Brigadier-General Morgan, commanding the light troops and militia, on the 17th instant, near the Cowpens, over a superior body of British troops commanded by Colonel Tarleton, wherein the enemy lost upwards of one hundred killed, between two and three hundred wounded, and above five hundred British officers and soldiers taken prisoners, with two brass field-pieces, eight hundred stands of arms, thirty-five wagons and all their baggage, with the loss of only ten men killed and fifty-five wounded.'

" This important victory will give a new face to our Southern affairs, and perhaps be productive of the most extensive good consequences. Our friends in that quarter will be encouraged to persevere in their opposition to tyranny, convinced by the success which has so far crowned their virtuous exertions, that there is a great difference between an enemy's overrunning their country and their conquering it.

" The affair of the Pennsylvania line has been compromised, and in a manner which will reflect no honor on those who had a hand in it. The State have dismissed about one half of the troops as three-years men, taking the bare *ipse dixit* of the soldier where the original enlistment could not be produced; the remainder were furloughed for forty days. A very hopeful compromise! Few of these fellows will ever be again brought into the field, and the State, if they determine upon having a line, must try their powers in creating a new one.

"The Jersey line, too, thought it was time for them to follow the pretty example of the Pennsylvanians, in setting up for themselves; but their capital was so small, that they soon became bankrupt. They discarded their officers, and were preparing to take some further steps in rebellion. But the vigorous measures pursued by General Washington quickly reduced them to reason. A detachment from the Massachusetts line was sent against them under General Howe, who had the good fortune, after a tedious night-march, to surprise them napping in their huts just at daybreak. Five minutes only were allowed them to parade without their arms, and give up their ringleaders. This was instantly complied with, and two of them were executed on the spot. Thus the mutiny was quelled, the officers resumed their command, and every thing remains *in statu quo.*

"Notwithstanding the bad effects these insurrections may have on the discipline of our army, yet some good consequences have already been derived from them. The country has taken the alarm; people find that the care of supplying and keeping up an army will be necessary, that a good body of troops will be no contemptible instrument for working out their political salvation, and that honesty, in military as well as in civil and private transactions, is the best policy. While they cherish these sentiments the republic will be safe; whenever they lose sight of them, its misfortunes will begin."

On the 15th of March, 1781, he wrote from New Windsor to his brother Nathaniel: —

"Our last advices from the southward inform us, that Lord Cornwallis, who, after Tarleton's defeat, made most rapid marches to overtake Morgan, was again retiring. His Lordship had traversed an extent of country of two hundred miles, and at last came up with our army at the Dan River, which divides North Carolina from Virginia. Here Generals Greene and Morgan, having formed a junction, and daily receiving reinforcements, waited the attack. But Cornwallis, not being pleased with the looks of things, began a retreat the next day (I think the 21st of February). General Greene crossed the river in pursuit of him. Cornwallis, ever since the defeat of his favorite partisan, seems to have been acting like a man blinded by passion. His last manœuvre was that of a desperado. If the people in that quarter turn out with a proper degree of spirit, he must be ruined, as the first point of safety at which he can arrive is one hundred and thirty miles from the place where his retreat commenced. We wait the receipt of further accounts with the utmost anxiety.

"The present is a time of great expectation. Besides our concern for the issue of our Southern affairs under General Greene, we are exceedingly interested for the fate of a most capital enterprise against the traitor Arnold. A very handsome detachment under the Marquis de la Fayette went from this army, and we hope, from the ready coöperation of our generous allies, that the important undertaking will be crowned with deserved success."

On the 13th of May, 1781, Major Shaw wrote to his father from New Windsor, on the subject of his brother Nathaniel's wish to join the American army: —

"I have received a letter from Nat, intimating his wishes to become a soldier. This is a matter which I have long desired; but, as I had rather it should be a motion of his own, I forbore saying any thing to him on the subject. From the circumstances he mentions, there can be no very urgent call for him to remain at home. An opportunity now offers for bringing him forward in life, and I shall be exceedingly happy if you and my dear mother will consent to his embracing it.

"The profession of arms, in such a cause as we are now engaged in, is both just and honorable, and I am persuaded it would be a piece of injustice to deprive a young man of an opportunity of having it in his power, at some future period, to look back on the present and enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction flowing from a consciousness of having done his duty. This, I trust, will be a sufficient inducement with you to gratify Nat's wishes. Besides, there are many advantages which he may derive from a military education. The army has been esteemed no inconsiderable school for the study of mankind; and Nat, poor lad, has as yet had no opportunity for acquainting himself with this necessary branch of science. He is now at an age well calculated to receive the best impressions; and I am happy in having it in my power, not only to provide genteelly for him in the army, but also to introduce him to its first characters. I propose placing him with Captain Lillie, whose reputation as an officer is second to none of his rank in service. Besides this advantage, he will be constantly under my own eye, and shall never want any advice or assistance which it may be in my power to give him.

"If I shall be so fortunate as to have the approbation and concurrence of my dear parents in this matter, with which my own happiness is so nearly connected, I wish Nat to come on as soon as possible. You cannot be insensible, my dear Sir, of the stress which the world lays on *external appearances*, and that the opinion formed of a young man *at first sight* is commonly the strongest and most lasting. Therefore it will be absolutely essential that he come on completely equipped as an officer. For this purpose I have annexed an estimate of such articles as will be necessary, at the same time having as much regard to economy as possible.

"I am well aware that this expedition will be attended with some expense; but, as it is only *for once*, and will be fairly setting him afloat in the world, where he can in future take care of himself, it will not be an extravagant bargain. However, as it may not be in your power to supply him amply, I shall be obliged to you to raise what money you can on my notes now in your possession, furnish him with the articles, and accept the amount of them from me as a small token of the sense I have and shall ever retain of the many obligations I owe to the kindest of parents. I beg you not to let any idea that I may want this money myself prevent your acceptance of it. The arrearages of my pay for the whole of the last year, added to what I may receive for the present, will afford me a decent support. I can cheerfully dispense with a luxurious one, where the interest of my brother is so nearly concerned.

"I wish my dear mother and yourself every possible happiness, and remain, affectionately,

"Your dutiful

"S. Shaw.

"Clothing, &c., necessary for a young campaigner: —

Beaver hat,	15
Coat, faced and lined with scarlet, — white vest and breeches, — plain yellow buttons, — (superfine will be cheapest),	60
3 white linen vests and breeches,	25
6 ruffled shirts and stocks,	60
4 pairs white cotton or linen hose,	10
Boots,	10
Sword,	20
Silver dollars,	200

"If the above sum can be raised on my notes, I can spare it without injury to myself, and as much as will bring Nat on to camp."

On the same day he wrote to his brother Nathaniel on the same subject: —

"To the pleasure of seeing my good friend Lillie was added that of receiving your letter. The sentiments you express with respect to the subject of my last coincide exactly with the opinion I wished you to entertain of it; and your letter itself is a convincing and very flattering proof of the attention you paid to my advice. I thank you, my dear Nat, for the satisfaction it has given me, and I hope you will afford me frequent opportunities of being grateful to you for similar favors.

. . . . .

" 'What think you? should I make a good soldier?' Indeed, my good boy, this is one of the most important questions you could have proposed. The solution of it rests almost entirely with yourself. Your own feelings must determine. It cannot be supposed that your thoughts have been unemployed on so serious a matter during the progress of this war, which commenced as you were emerging from childhood, and infant reason putting forth its tender shoots. No, I rather believe that they have been often thus occupied, and that the present inquiry is the result of deliberate reflection, and amounts to a determination on your part, that you will be a soldier. After this, nothing need be said on the fatigues, the hardships, and *dangers*, incident to a military life. You must have duly considered and be prepared to meet them all. If I am right in the conjecture, nothing which my influence, prompted by fraternal affection, can effect, shall be wanting to complete your wishes. As a preliminary step, I inclose you an introductory letter to Colonel Crane, in whose battalion you can have a second-lieutenancy. This letter must be countersigned by him, and forwarded to General Knox, for his approbation (which I have already obtained), who sends it to the war-office, from whence the commissions are issued.

" After having sacrificed so much of my own time to the duties which every young man owes his country, the satisfaction arising from that reflection is greatly increased by having a brother who is equally willing to do the same. Come on, then, my dear lad, — the sooner the better. Though my situation will not allow you to be directly with me, yet I have made such an arrangement as will be very advantageous for you, and peculiarly agreeable to myself. Under the guidance of Captain Lillie I think you cannot fail of getting a competent knowledge of duty; and I am sure your own good qualities, and his friendship for your brother, will induce him to manifest the utmost attention to your welfare.

"As the world are much influenced by *external appearances*, and the first impressions a young man makes being generally the strongest, I wish you to come on completely equipped as a soldier, from head to foot. For this purpose I have written to our dear parents, inclosing an estimate of what will be wanted, and I doubt not you will be amply supplied."

On the 26th of July, 1781, he writes to the Rev. Mr. Eliot from camp: —

"What shall I say? Shall I tell you, my honest friend, that every thing goes well, and that, in all human probability, New York will soon be ours? I wish to Heaven I could. No man more firmly believes in the justice of our present struggle, nor does any one rely more on the smiles of Providence in its favor. But we must help ourselves; and it would be impious in a people to expect a divine interposition in their behalf, at a time when they refuse or neglect to avail themselves of the means in their own possession. It may be asked, Are we not doing so? Are we not sending you recruits, and contributing every thing in our power to render the issue of the present campaign decisive and glorious? I believe many think this is doing ——. It is strange how mankind differ in their ideas with respect to right and wrong. A private character who should use fraud to get rid of his engagement would be considered as a scoundrel, while a collective body do not blush at transactions for which an individual would be kicked out of society. Had the different States *honestly* complied with the requisitions of Congress, we should at this period have had an army in the field equal to any exigence of service. How contrary has been their conduct! Of the recruits which have come in, to say nothing of their deficiency in point of number, few of them will be able, before the expiration of their enlistments, to perform the duties of a soldier. When I have seen boys of a yard and a half long paraded for muster, absolutely incapable of sustaining the weight of a soldier's accoutrements, and been told that these shadows have been sent as part of the State's quota, I have cursed the duplicity of my countrymen, and pronounced them unworthy the blessings of freedom. The army at large considered this conduct of their respective States as a vile imposition, and we began to send back the unqualified recruits; but so proportionably great was their number, that we were obliged to retain many, who, though they are not so at present, yet may in a campaign or two be in some degree serviceable. This is no exaggerated picture. It might, by a deeper coloring, be made a more striking likeness. The country is sanguine, and great things are expected from their army. Let the former do their duty, and I trust there will be no deficiency on the part of the other.

"The army at present occupy a position between Dobbs's Ferry and the White Plains, about twenty-five miles from New York. The French compose our left wing. Nothing can exceed the harmony which subsists between the two wings, who seem exceedingly happy in the connection. On the night of the 21st we moved to Kingsbridge, leaving sufficient guards for the security of our camp. This was done with a view of reconnoitring the enemy's works, &c., there and on the island. This purpose was completely answered; and, though we remained there two days, ready for battle, yet the British general did not think fit to accept our invitation. If he had, the fate of America would have depended on the issue of a single action. We are now strong enough to maintain a defensive war. Our country has need of peace, for obtaining which offensive operations are necessary. Whether with our present strength and prospects they will be successful, the event must determine. Had an *honest* and vigorous exertion been seasonably made, there does not remain a shadow of doubt but the present campaign would terminate the war."

Again he writes to the same correspondent, on the 13th of August, 1782: —

"I must tell you a piece of good news. Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby have jointly, in their character as commissioners for restoring peace, &c., addressed a letter to General

Washington, informing him, that the British administration have sent Mr. Grenville to Paris, with full powers to treat upon a peace between the belligerent parties, the basis of which is to be the *Independence of America.* They therefore propose immediately entering upon a general exchange of prisoners of every denomination, on both sides; which, under the present prospect of affairs, they hope will be agreed to. This letter, which bears date the 2d instant, the General has forwarded to Congress. In the mean while disturbances have been so high in New York, that the British commanders have been obliged to publish it, in order to quiet the Loyalists, who are exceedingly uneasy under the apprehension that they will be neglected. After the letter, follows a short address, exhorting these said Loyalists to persevere in their steadiness, and assuring them that their interests shall be attended to.

"This account is published in Rivington's last 'Royal Gazette,' and I suppose will find its way to the eastward, and have a place in the first papers published after the post gets in."

On the 1st of September, 1782, he writes to his brother William from New Windsor: —

"I anticipate with the highest pleasure the heartfelt satisfaction we shall all enjoy, when peace, of which we have now the strongest expectation, shall restore me to the walks of life, which will afford us an opportunity of cultivating the social duties, and tasting the sweets of domestic happiness.

"Nothing will be done this campaign by either army. A great part of it is gone, and the remainder will wear away, in the pleasing prospect that it will be the last."

From West Point, on the 4th of October, 1782, he writes to his brother Nathaniel: —

"Since my last letter to you, I have been with General Heath and General Knox, to meet commissioners from the British army, in order to settle a general cartel for the exchange of prisoners; but some difficulties, which could not be got over, prevented any thing being done. It is painful to every humane breast, when motives of policy militate so strongly with the dictates of humanity. Our poor fellows, who are all of them naval prisoners, cannot be released at present but on terms which would be materially injurious to the country. They must, therefore, have patience a little longer. We are not without hopes that the commissioners on the great scale in Europe will adjust matters in such a way as not only to release prisoners, but put an end to the calamities of war in every quarter."

In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Eliot, dated from West Point, on the 3d of November, 1782, Major Shaw thus characterizes the Chevalier Mauduit du Plessis, a French gentleman, who had early joined the army of the United States: —

"Having written you a very long letter four days ago, I shall make use of this solely to introduce to your acquaintance and civilities the Chevalier Mauduit du Plessis, at present Aide Major-General to the French Artillery. This gentleman very early engaged in the cause of freedom, and came to America in 1777, when he made the campaign as volunteer aid-de-camp to General Knox, and of course became the intimate of your friend. His agreeable manners, and the goodness of his heart, engaged him the love and esteem of all who were acquainted with him, and his conduct as an officer was so conspicuously good, as not only to gain him additional rank here, but to recommend him to the approbation of his sovereign, from whom he obtained very substantial promotion in the French army. After having a second time served this country, he is now preparing to encounter new dangers, and gather fresh laurels in another climate. I regret most sensibly the parting with this valuable friend. His remembrance will ever be dear to me, and I am sorry that his short stay at Boston will so soon deprive you of the happiness you will find in his company and conversation. He is a man of science, a soldier, and a gentleman."

On the 13th of the same month, from the same place, he wrote to his father: —

"Another campaign has passed away, and our army are again in winter-quarters. It has been a harmless one; — nobody killed or wounded. Happy would it be for America, happy for her much injured soldiers, were it the last. The treatment the application to our State, in behalf of its troops, has met with from the legislature occasions universal discontent. Not to enumerate many other instances wherein the army have reason to complain of the injustice of their countrymen, what shall we say to their behaviour, when the business of a future compensation for the services performed by their brethren in arms was brought before them? What promises on the part of our country ought to gain the least confidence, after members of Congress themselves have declared that the solemn engagements of that body to give half-pay, or its equivalent, to such of their troops as should continue to the end of the war, was only intended to answer certain purposes for the time being, and ought not now to be considered as binding. Public faith —— but I forbear to urge the ungrateful subject any further.

"My bond to Mr. —— I intend to pay when it is due; though to do this I must contract another debt. It is no satisfaction to me to reflect that I am obliged to do this, notwithstanding the public owes me for nearly three years' services, when I find, at the same time, I cannot make calculation upon the pay of a single month."

From West Point, on the 14th of November, 1782, he again wrote to his brother Nathaniel: —

"I expect to stay here this winter; let me hear from you as often as you can. If our enlightened countrymen considered common honesty as a moral duty, I should have it in my power to spend a little money in Boston, and enjoy the company of my friends in that quarter; but, as it is, I must endeavour to make myself as contented as possible where I am."

CHAPTER VIII.

DISCONTENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY. — ADDRESS TO CONGRESS IN ITS BEHALF BY ITS OFFICERS. — PROCEEDINGS ON THAT OCCASION. — THE NEWBURG ANONYMOUS ADDRESSES. — MEASURES TAKEN TO COUNTERACT THEIR INFLUENCE. — GLORIOUS CONDUCT OF WASHINGTON. — THE PERSECUTING SPIRIT MANIFESTED TOWARDS THE TORIES CONDEMNED.

Between the month of December, 1782, and May, 1783, four letters were addressed by Major Shaw, from West Point, to the Rev. Mr. Eliot, from which are extracted the following passages: —

"December 22, 1782.

"I believe I have mentioned to you in a former letter the uneasiness which then existed in the army. Its influence has been universal; it pervades every breast, from the major-general downwards. We have experienced for years together the most oppressive treatment that ever an army endured. Could we suppose that the country is unable to prevent or remove the grievances under which we labor, there are no people under heaven who would support them with greater cheerfulness. But this is not the case. We see the most unequal conduct observed towards us, and, of the enormous sums of money levied for carrying on the war, no part reaches the army. Its distribution invariably among the numerous civil officers throughout the continent, while the soldiery are wholly excluded, aggravates their sufferings, and seems like adding insult to injury. There have been several meetings for considering and adopting measures to obtain redress. General M^cDougall, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks, as a delegation from the whole, set out to-morrow morning with an address and petition to Congress. It is happy for the country that the officers have taken up the business, since nothing else could have kept the soldiers quiet. Congress will now be made fully acquainted with the sufferings and the disposition of their troops in consequence of them. *Point d'argent, point de Suisse*, is the prevailing sentiment, and, though a little more amplified, is the language of the address and petition. It is devoutly to be wished that this application may have the desired effect. If it does not —— "

"February 23, 1783.

" Before this reaches you, the story of peace may probably be no news; perhaps a confirmation of its reality may arrive first. Would to Heaven it might! The last language from the throne is infinitely different from any that has been used during the contest, and it is evident the British nation are heartily tired of the war. But say, my friend, is America prepared for the reception of the long wished-for blessing? What system has she, adequate to the government and prosperity of her rising empire? No money, no funds, and what is worse, no disposition in the people to establish funds, the certain consequence of which must be the death of public credit. It is astonishing with how much obstinacy the State of Rhode Island has opposed the impost, and by its non-concurrence defeated a measure which seemed so essential to the public welfare. That the smallest State in the union should thus counteract and annul the proceedings of the other twelve argues an awful defect in the Confederation. Unless there be a power vested in some supreme head, sufficient to enforce a compliance with such regulations as are evidently calculated for the general good, adieu to all government, — I mean that species of it which alone deserves the name. Thirteen wheels require a steady and powerful regulator to keep them in good order, and prevent the machine from becoming useless. The prospect of peace makes a politician of the soldier. We are thirteen States, and *a hoop to the barrel* is the prevailing sentiment.

. . . . .

"The expectation of a speedy peace has greatly lulled the discontents of the army, and is a reason why so little redress has been granted by the country. On this account our application to Congress did not answer our intention. The mountain has brought forth a mouse. One month's pay to the army is all they could obtain the promise of; the mode of settling past arrearages was not agreed on, and as to half-pay or a compensation for it, we must wait till there is a more full representation in Congress, there being only nine States present, and three of them opposed to any consideration for past services, though accompanied with a sacrifice of time, health, and property."

One of these letters, dated in April, 1783, was accompanied by a series of documents, containing the address from the army to Congress, the anonymous letters from Newburg, the proceedings of a meeting of the officers, the address of Washington to the army, and the general orders issued on this occasion.* Major Shaw, after referring to these documents, thus proceeds: —

"These will give you a pretty good idea of our proceedings; and that you may not want any information on the subject, I shall take the liberty of adding a few particulars, by way of narrative.

"The accumulated hardships under which the army had so long labored made their situation intolerable, and called aloud for immediate redress. An application to the supreme authority of America was thought a salutary measure, and the improbability of obtaining relief from the States individually, after the treatment the Massachusetts line had experienced from their State, rendered it absolutely indispensable.

"With this view, a delegation from the several regiments composing the Massachusetts line, having conferred together, came to a determination of taking the sense of the army at large; and on the 16th of November appointed a committee of seven, who should assemble on the 24th of the same month, and, in conjunction with the delegates from those lines who might see fit to send any, agree and determine upon such measures as should be found best calculated to promote the desirable purposes for which the convention was called.

---

* All these are already, in many forms, in possession of the public; and appear at full length in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VIII., from page 551 to page 566, inclusive. Their publication in this place, therefore, does not seem to be necessary.

"Agreeably to this proposal there was a full representation of the whole army, when 'it was unanimously agreed that Major-General Knox, Brigadier-General Huntington, Colonel Crane, Colonel Courtlandt, and Doctor Eustis, be a committee to draft an address and petition to Congress, in behalf of the army, and lay the same before this assembly for consideration at their meeting on the 1st of December.'

"At the meeting on the 1st of December, 'the draft of the address and petition to Congress was read, and voted to be laid before the several lines of the army for consideration,' and it was determined, 'that the army at large choose a general officer, and each line send a field-officer, any two of whom, as a majority of them should agree, should, in conjunction with the said general officer, form a committee to wait on Congress and execute the business of said address.' Instructions were also directed to be prepared for the conduct of said committee, and the necessary sum of money raised for their expenses.

"On opening the ballots the 5th of December, Major-General McDougall, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks were chosen to proceed to Congress with the address and petition, which was signed on the 7th, and delivered to the committee, — after which the meeting adjourned without day.

"The delegation from the army to Congress set out on their mission the 21st of December. On the address and petition being read in Congress, a grand committee, consisting of a member from each State, was chosen to confer with our commissioners. The result of this conference was certain resolves of Congress, passed on the 25th of January, the purport whereof was, that the army should receive one month's pay, and that their accounts should be settled as soon as possible, for discharging the balances of which Congress would endeavour to provide adequate funds. The matter respecting a commutation of the half-pay was recommitted. These resolutions at large were transmitted by our commissioners, in a letter of the 8th of February, to General Knox, which was immediately communicated to the respective lines of the army.

" This report, though far from being satisfactory, joined to the certainty that we were on the eve of a general peace, kept the army quiet. In this state of patient expectation, the anonymous address to the officers made its appearance. Immediately on this, the Commander-in-chief, by an order of the 11th of March, directed the officers to assemble on the 15th, which produced the second anonymous address.

" The meeting of the officers was in itself exceedingly respectable, the matters they were called to deliberate upon were of the most serious nature, and the unexpected attendance of the Commander-in-chief heightened the solemnity of the scene. Every eye was fixed upon the illustrious man, and attention to their beloved General held the assembly mute. He opened the meeting by apologizing for his appearance there, which was by no means his intention when he published the order which directed them to assemble. But the diligence used in circulating the anonymous pieces rendered it necessary that he should give his sentiments to the army on the nature and tendency of them, and determined him to avail himself of the present opportunity; and, in order to do it with greater perspicuity, he had committed his thoughts to writing, which, with the indulgence of his brother officers, he would take the liberty of reading to them. It is needless for me to say any thing of this production; *it speaks for itself.* After he had concluded his address, he said, that, as a corroborating testimony of the good disposition in Congress towards the army, he would communicate to them a letter received from a worthy member of that body, and one who on all occasions had ever approved himself their fast friend. This was an exceedingly sensible letter; and, while it pointed out the difficulties and embarrassments of Congress, it held up very forcibly the idea that the army should, at all events, be generously dealt with. One circumstance in reading this letter must not be omitted. His Excellency, after reading the first paragraph, made a short pause, took out his spectacles, and begged the indulgence of his audience while he put them on, observing at the same time, that he had grown gray in their service, and now found himself growing blind. There was something so natural, so unaffected, in this appeal, as rendered it superior to the most studied oratory; it forced its way to the heart, and you might see sensibility moisten every eye. The General, having finished, took leave of the assembly, and the business of the day was conducted in the manner which is related in the account of the proceedings.

"I cannot dismiss this subject without observing, that it is happy for America that she has a *patriot army*, and equally so that a *Washington* is its leader. I rejoice in the opportunities I have had of seeing this great man in a variety of situations; — calm and intrepid where the battle raged, patient and persevering under the pressure of misfortune, moderate and possessing himself in the full career of victory. Great as these qualifications deservedly render him, he never appeared to me more truly so, than at the assembly we have been speaking of. On other occasions he has been supported by the exertions of an army and the countenance of his friends; but in this he stood single and alone. There was no saying where the passions of an army, which were not a little inflamed, might lead; but it was generally allowed that longer forbearance was dangerous, and moderation had ceased to be a virtue. Under these circumstances he appeared, not at the head of his troops, but as it were in opposition to them; and for a dreadful moment the interests of the army and its General seemed to be in competition! He spoke, — every doubt was dispelled, and the tide of patriotism rolled again in its wonted course. Illustrious man! what he says of the army may with equal justice be applied to his own character.

‘ Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.’ ”

“ West Point, May 3d, 1783.

“ It has been one of the principal pleasures which I have experienced during the war to sit down now and then, and, forgetting the distance that separates us, hold a little friendly communication with my dear Eliot. Though, as a good member of the community, I rejoice in the happy issue of an eight years' conflict, which has terminated so gloriously for our country, yet I hail the return of peace with the most heartfelt satisfaction, as it will enable me to pursue that *quiet* line of life for which I have long sighed, and restore me to those friends in whose society I anticipate much happiness.

“ When a person considers the commencement, progress, and complete accomplishment of the revolution which has taken place, — the different situations to which it has brought us, one while on the very brink of destruction, and, as it were, abandoned even by hope, then rising, by the most unexpected turn of affairs, superior to the misfortunes which threatened us, and finally attaining the great objects of our war, — when, I say, one considers these astonishing events, he must acknowledge a superintending Providence, and kindle at the recollection of its mercies, unless he be obdurate to the last degree, and do not possess one single spark of gratitude.

“ America is now become an empire, and the eyes of the world are fastened upon her. If ever the spirit of wisdom was necessary to direct a nation, it is most peculiarly so at this instant. We have a character to establish among the great powers of the earth, who will for the most part form their opinion of us from the manner in which we set out. Let, then, humanity, a love of justice, and a universal spirit of moderation be its distinguishing traits, and this will be the way to render it truly respectable. I am led to these remarks by a view of that intolerant, persecuting temper, manifesting itself towards those unhappy people who have been seduced from their allegiance to this country by the artifice, and in many instances, indisputably, the compulsion, of its foes. What a disgrace to us, and how repugnant to humanity, are those declarations which fill the newspapers of the present day! How little does such a disposition prove us worthy to enjoy the blessings of that peace which Heaven has granted us! But I would hope, for the honor of human nature, that it does not generally prevail, and that it is rather an ebullition of intemperate, misguided zeal in a few individuals. It is a Godlike attribute to forgive; and America has now an opportunity, by the forgiveness of these returning penitents, to render herself as renowned for moderation in prosperity, as she is for her firmness under adversity. Some perhaps may object, that these people are not again to be trusted. 'What!' say they, 'shall we take these vipers to our bosoms, and put it in their power to sting us to the heart?' No such thing, — mankind never act without a motive. These deluded wretches feel their error; the bitterest experience has convinced them of it, and, if they have any remaining enmity, it is against those who have thus cruelly cast them upon the mercy of an injured country. Receive them, restore to them their property, and you will make it their interest to become good citizens. Surely, in a young country, like ours, this is a dictate of true policy, to say nothing of the superior obligation of humanity.

"As it ever affords me great satisfaction when I can in any way conduce to yours, I have lately amused myself in copying those papers which you requested, as well as some others which were necessary to give you a just idea of the important transaction to which they relate. I have also added a few remarks by way of narrative, which I thought it better to do in a separate letter, than to assign them any part of this. It was not in my power to comply with your request as to the author of the anonymous papers, as I have never been able to ascertain who he is. Numbers are suspected as being concerned, for it is generally allowed to be a partnership affair. Among others, an acquaintance of ours, a son of Æsculapius, — formerly a classmate, and, if my memory serves me, a chum of yours, — is supposed to have had no small share in it. *Sat verbum*, and remember this information is *sub rosâ*. Whatever may have been the writer's design, these papers certainly produced a good effect, as I verily believe but for them the army would not have had an opportunity of appearing in that patriotic and honorable point of view in which their conduct on that occasion has placed them.

"We are now waiting the arrival of the definitive treaty. As soon as it comes and the necessary arrangements can be made for ascertaining the dues of the army, and providing for the security of our frontiers, the trumpet will sound, — 'Every man to his tent, O Israel!' What will become of a very large portion of the poor fellows who are about quitting a line of life that has rendered them almost unfit for any other, Heaven alone knows, and I hope will take care of them. If the country treats them properly, they will be a valuable acquisition as citizens; if not, it will be well if they should be simply of no service to her. Many people, I know, wish to do well by us; but a greater number think the distinction of a uniform coat and the splendor of a military character a sufficient compensation for the hardships and dangers it is obliged to encounter; even these they envy us, though attended by a poverty which is almost proverbial. From such we do not expect gratitude, but we have a right to justice."

CHAPTER IX.

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES PROCLAIMED TO THE AMERICAN ARMY. — WASHINGTON'S AND KNOX'S CERTIFICATES OF MAJOR SHAW'S SERVICES AND MERIT. — HE ENGAGES IN THE FIRST COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE FROM THE UNITED STATES TO CHINA. — RETURNS, AND IS APPOINTED THE FIRST CONSUL FROM THE UNITED STATES AT CANTON. — HIS SECOND VOYAGE TO THE CHINESE EMPIRE. — HIS RESIDENCE THERE. — VOYAGE TO BENGAL, AND RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

The preceding extracts from the letters of Major Shaw to his friends and relatives include all that can now be collected concerning the events of his military life. Written amid the excitement of the camp, often in the moment of victory or of defeat, intended for a circle of private friends, without a thought of self-illustration or of further publicity, they yet bear internal evidence of the kindness of his heart, of his zeal and fidelity in the cause of his country, of the soundness of his judgment, and of the purity and elevation of his spirit. They thus account for that singular confidence with which he was regarded by his military superiors, and for the affection entertained for him by those who in rank were his equals or his subordinates. Perhaps no individual of the same rank, in the army of the United States, quitted it, at the end of the war, with a reputation in all these respects better deserved, or more generally acknowledged.

On the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years from the day on which, by the battle of Lexington, hostilities were commenced, their cessation was proclaimed to the American army, in orders from General Washington, who also devolved upon General Knox the immediate command during the disbandment of the troops, which occupied the remainder of the year. Major Shaw remained, as aid-de-camp, in the family of General Knox, and assisted, by his advice and influence, in the arduous and delicate duties incident to that process. Feeling not less keenly than others the wrongs the army had sustained, and the poverty in which they had been turned adrift upon the world by the injustice of their country, he was one of those who sustained the policy of the Commander-in-chief, and was among the most active and, by his influence and popularity, effective, in allaying the discontents, which, about that period, threatened to disgrace both the army and the country.

In all the interesting events which ensued, he was either an actor or a witness; enjoying the general gratification they caused and partaking of the glory of them. As a member of the military family of General Knox, with him, in the ensuing November, he accompanied General Washington, when he and Governor Clinton took possession of New York, after its evacuation by the British. He was present when, on the 4th of the ensuing December, Washington took his final, heart-rending leave of the officers of the American army; a moment of intense reciprocated joy, yet of impressive, affectionate tenderness, for which language has no adequate expression. To a soldier, like Major Shaw, who could witness this touching scene with a consciousness, that, in the events of which he had been so largely a partaker, his every feeling towards his country had been right, and every duty fulfilled, it was an adequate reward for all the sufferings and privations to which he had been subjected.

In November, 1783, he received from General Washington the following testimonial of his merit and services in the army of the Revolution: —

"By his Excellency George Washington, Esq., General
L. S. and Commander-in-chief of the forces of the United
States of America.

"This certifies that Captain Samuel Shaw was appointed a Lieutenant of Artillery in the army of the United States of America in 1775; the year following he was appointed Adjutant, and in 1777 was promoted to the rank of Captain-Lieutenant and Brigade-Major in the corps of Artillery, in which capacity he served until August, 1779, when he was appointed Aid-de-camp to Major-General Knox, commanding the Artillery, with whom he remained till the close of the war, having been promoted to the rank of Captain of Artillery in 1780.

"From the testimony of the superior officers under whom Captain Shaw has served, as well as from my own observation, I am enabled to certify, *that, throughout the whole of his service, he has greatly distinguished himself in every thing which could entitle him to the character of an intelligent, active, and brave officer.*

"Given under my hand and seal this third day of November, 1783.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"By his Excellency's command.
"BEN. WALKER, *Aid-de-camp.*"

On the 5th of January, 1784, Major Shaw took final leave of the family of General Knox, from whom he received, in his own handwriting, the following certificate, reflecting honor alike on the qualities of his heart and his excellence as an officer: —

"This is to certify that the possessor, Captain Samuel Shaw, has borne a commission in the artillery of the United States of America upwards of eight years; more than seven of which he has been particularly attached to the subscriber in the capacities of adjutant, brigade-major, and aid-de-camp. In the various and arduous duties of his several stations, he has, in every instance, evinced himself an intelligent, active, and gallant officer, and as such he has peculiarly endeared himself to his numerous acquaintances.

"This testimony is given unsolicited on his part. It is dictated by the pure principles of affection and gratitude, inspired by an unequivocal attachment during a long and trying period of the American war.

"Given under my hand and seal, at West Point, upon Hudson's River, this 5th day of January, 1784.

L. S. "H. Knox, *M. General.*"

Major Shaw took an active and efficient part in the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was chosen secretary of the committee of the officers of the army who formed it, and, according to information derived from the late Colonel Timothy Pickering, the original draft of its constitution was from his pen. Like other soldiers of the Revolutionary army, Major Shaw was now destined to enter upon civil life, in debt, without property, and with no other foundation of hope than the character he had attained, and the general confidence which his talents and integrity had inspired. His manners and address were singularly winning and polished. His countenance was open, and expressive of benevolence and intelligence. The judgment, fidelity, and capacity for business, which he had displayed in the several offices he had sustained in the American army, attracted attention and general interest; and an association of capitalists, who had united for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse between the United States and China, offered to him the station of factor and commercial agent for the voyage. This he accepted, upon the condition that Captain Randall, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship in the course of the American war, and who was as destitute of property and employment as himself, should be united with him and share with him the profits of the agency. To this condition the owners acceded; and he accordingly engaged in their service. The only notice of this transaction given to his friends, which is now preserved, is contained in the two following letters, which, as indications of brotherly affection, ought not to be omitted.

On the 24th of December, 1783, he wrote from Boston to his brother William, then residing at Goldsborough, in the Province of Maine: —

> "My prospect of seeing you in the course of the winter is at an end. I shall sail for China by the 15th of January, from New York. The terms on which I go promise something clever, and I hope to shake you by the hand in two years. Though fortune has dealt rather hardly with you, it will never do to give out. Things may take a favorable turn in the spring. If Heaven prospers my present undertaking, it will be in my power to help you. Therefore, keep up a good heart, and be assured that in me you have a brother who will cheerfully share with you his last penny. Adieu. I wish you every happiness."

On the same day (December 24th, 1783), he wrote to his brother Nathaniel, giving him the same account of his intended departure for China, and adding: —

> "It gives me a great pleasure to find that you are getting into a good way of business. May you be successful and happy. Having a silver watch to dispose of, I thought I could not do better than send it to you. Accept it as a mark of my affection

for you, my dear brother, and believe that, however fortune may dispose of me, you will ever be near my heart."

Of the events of Major Shaw's commercial life few records remain, except those which are furnished by the subjoined Journals. On the 11th of May, 1785, he returned to New York, in the same ship in which he had sailed, and in which was consummated the first enterprise in that commerce with China, since carried on so largely by his countrymen. But, on his arrival, he found that the profits of his agency, divided as it had been with his friend Randall, scarcely amounted to a remuneration for his time and services.

General Knox welcomed him on his return with open arms, and offered him the place of a secretary in the War Office, he being then at the head of the War Department of the United States. Accepting it, Major Shaw immediately entered upon its duties, and accompanied General Knox on a tour to inspect the magazines at the southward of Virginia. Within ten days after his arrival from China, he addressed a letter to Mr. Jay, the Minister of the United States for Foreign Affairs, giving an account of the occurrences in the voyage of "the first vessel that had been fitted out by inhabitants of the United States of America for essaying a commerce with those of the empire of China"; and received from Mr. Jay, by order of Congress, an expression "of their peculiar satisfaction at the successful termination of the enterprise." This and two other letters of a like official character, written to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, are subjoined in the Appendix, notwithstanding that the information they contain is substantially communicated in his Journal; as it seems but just to his memory to present in this work the facts he deemed important, in the form in which he saw fit to prepare them for the public.

Major Shaw was not destined to continue long as a secretary in the Department of War. For, in the month of December, 1785, he writes to his three brothers: —

"I am once more going to China, under such circumstances as have induced me to resign my employment in the War Office, for *I am now certain* that this undertaking will answer my *most sanguine expectations.* Colonel Sears, of New York, Mr. Randall, who was my companion in the other voyage, and myself, are joint agents. If I live to return, I shall be in easy, very easy circumstances. If I should die only one day after the ship sails from this country, I am, by agreement, entitled to every privilege and emolument that would come to me, should I perform the whole voyage. I shall leave a state of my affairs with our mother. I make no will, as the law will give her and you every thing I leave without one. I commend you and myself to the protection of Heaven, and remain ever, my dear brothers,

"Your affectionate

"S. SHAW."

By a certificate of General Knox it appears that in the February succeeding he was honorably discharged from the office of secretary in his department. In the preceding January he had by Congress been elected Consul from the United States at Canton, "without being entitled to receive any salary, fees, or emoluments whatsoever"; and on the 30th of that month he addressed a letter to Mr. Jay, then Secretary of the United States for Foreign Affairs, expressing his "grateful acknowledgments for the honor the Congress of the United States had been pleased to confer upon him," and begging that officer to assure them, that nothing on his part should be wanting to discharge faithfully the trust reposed in him, and to render the appointment as far as possible a public benefit.

Major Shaw sailed on his second voyage from New York on the 4th of February, 1786, arrived at Canton on the 15th of August, resided during the whole of the year 1787 at that city and Macao, and sailed for Bengal on the 18th of January, 1788. He returned to Canton in September, 1788, from whence he sailed for the United States in January, 1789, and arrived in the harbour of Newport on the 5th of July of that year. The course and events of these voyages constitute the subject of his second Journal.

On his return from this voyage his strong family affections led him to an act which, as an indication of character, and in connection with the circumstances of this publication, ought not to be omitted here. His brother, Francis Shaw, had died in the year 1785, leaving, besides daughters, two sons, who were at this time about seven or eight years old. To the widow of this brother, then residing at Goldsborough, Major Shaw, immediately on his arrival in the United States, wrote:—"I beg you to put your two sons under my care, that I may be to them instead of a father. If you consent, let them accompany, at once, their uncle William to Boston." The offer was gratefully accepted. They were sent, and from that time were regarded by Major Shaw as his children. One of them was Robert Gould Shaw, now one of the most eminent and prosperous merchants of Boston. This gentleman, on assuming the expenses of this publication, as stated in the Preface, addressed to the author of this Memoir the following letter, dated in January, 1846, which, in justice to his feelings, is here subjoined.

"I am, Sir, the oldest of those fatherless boys, and I well remember how affectionately and kindly he received me. He told me, if I would be a good boy, that I should never want a friend. I will not undertake to describe the influence that his kindness had upon my mind. From that day to this I have, as he promised, never wanted a friend in time of need, nor have I ever forgotten, I trust, those who in such times have been my friends; by whose aid, protected by a kind Providence, I have been placed in a position to repay, in part, by kindness to others, the debt that is so justly due from me."

During his absence in the East Indies Major Shaw received, at the solicitation of several gentlemen of literary eminence, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, his classical attainments being respectable, notwithstanding he had not the advantage of an academical education; and about the same time he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

CHAPTER X.

THIRD VOYAGE TO CANTON. — COMMERCE WITH AMERICANS PROHIBITED AT BATAVIA. — HIS PROCEEDINGS ON THAT SUBJECT. — DEATH OF HIS BROTHER NATHANIEL. — HE RETURNS TO NEW YORK. — VINDICATES THE CHARACTER OF GENERAL KNOX. — HIS MARRIAGE. — DEPARTURE FOR BOMBAY. — HIS DEATH ON THE RETURN VOYAGE. — REMARKS ON HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Major Shaw, while absent on the preceding voyage, had given orders for a ship to be built, expressly for the China trade, on his account, at a point of land in the town of Quincy, called Germantown. At that period the building of a ship of the burden of eight or nine hundred tons, larger than any merchant vessel before built in the United States, was a subject of great interest to the commercial community. After his return the ship was launched, in September, 1789, and was named the Massachusetts. On this interesting occasion the hills around Germantown, and the boats which covered the harbour and river, were filled with spectators from Boston and the neighbouring country. Both English and French naval commanders, at that time visiting Boston in national ships, expressed their admiration of the model of this vessel ; and it was afterwards pronounced, by naval commanders at Batavia and Canton, "as perfect as the then state of the art would permit."

The appointment of Major Shaw as consul was renewed by President Washington, and he embarked in the Massachusetts[*] on the 28th of March, 1790, a third time for Canton. On his arrival at Batavia, he found, to his inexpressible surprise and disappointment, that all trade with Americans had been prohibited by the Dutch government, on account of evil reports which had been circulated concerning them by persons unfriendly to their commerce. He immediately, as consul from the United States, addressed a letter to Mr. Englehard, the Shabandar of Batavia, inclosing a representation to the governor-general and council of that colony, on the subject of this unjust and injurious policy; and, while at Canton, he addressed an official letter to the president of the United States, giving an account of his own proceedings, and communicating his views relative to those of the government of Holland. These letters and representations are subjoined.[†]

Soon after his arrival at Canton, Major Shaw sold the ship Massachusetts to agents of the Portuguese government; and, not being able to find an American ship by which he might remit the proceeds of the sale to the United States, he took the only course that then remained to him, and vested his funds in a cargo suitable for the European market, which he placed on board a ship bound to Bombay. He intended "to proceed with this merchandise to that port, thence to freight it for Ostend, and, accompanying it himself, to dispose of it there, and arrive in America in time to sail again the ensuing season for China."

---

[*] Job Prince, commander. A list of the officers and seamen employed in this voyage, and an account of the dimensions and qualities of the Massachusetts, will be found in the Voyages of Amasa Delano, her third officer, published in Boston, in 1817.

[†] See Appendix, D, E, F.

Having completed his arrangements in pursuance of this determination, he sailed for Bombay on the 12th of January, 1791, accompanied by his brother Nathaniel, then laboring with a disease which terminated his life on the 10th of the ensuing February, at sea, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. By this event Major Shaw's plans were sadly affected, as it was his purpose to remit a part of the merchandise to the United States under his brother's care, on whose talents and integrity he placed great reliance. Alluding to this event he thus expresses himself, in a letter to his brother William: —

> "Poor fellow! But why do I say poor fellow? If innocence, benevolence, and usefulness, while in this life, are qualifications for obtaining happiness in another, our departed brother and friend (for as both I must ever regret him) is rather to be envied than pitied."

On arriving at Bombay, having transmitted a part of his funds to the United States in an American ship, he chartered a Danish vessel and proceeded with the residue to Ostend; and, after having finished his business there, sailed, in January, 1792, for the United States, in order to depart again for China, without the loss of a season.

About this time, party spirit in the United States had begun its first demonstrations in opposition to the policy and influence of Washington, by assailing the character of General Knox, and other members of his cabinet and personal friends. As early in the Revolutionary war as May, 1777, Washington, in writing to Congress, thus expressed his sense of the merits of that officer: — "General Knox has deservedly acquired the character of one of the most valuable officers in the service, and, combating almost innumerable difficulties in the department he fills, has placed the artillery on a footing that does him the greatest honor"; and in June following, when writing to Richard Henry Lee, he spoke of General Knox as "a very valuable officer, and a man of great military reading, sound judgment, and clear conceptions."*

The efficiency and fidelity Knox had displayed throughout the war sustained the confidence and respect he had thus early acquired; and Washington accordingly placed him at the head of the Department of War as soon as he was himself inducted into the office of president of the United States.

When Major Shaw returned, in 1792, and witnessed the assaults party spirit was making upon his early patron and constant friend, a man he so loved and respected, his indignation, heightened by the sentiment of gratitude, was irrepressible; and, on the 15th of April of that year, he wrote to General Knox a letter, of which an extract is here inserted in justice to his memory, and as recording a tribute to American military skill in the heat of one of the severest battles of the American Revolution.

> "What shall we say, my dear friend, to a certain publication, which, under the title of 'Strictures,' &c., fabricated in Boston, is now circulating here, and no doubt has made its appearance with you. The shameful violation of decency and truth, the virulence and rancor of his remarks on the Secretary at War, show the wickedness and malice of the author of this production in such glaring colors as must expose him to general contempt and detestation. Happy must you feel, — thrice happy am I, — in the reflection, that, so long as the American name shall last, yours will be handed down with distinction in the list of the 'valued file'; and the artillery, which, formed under your auspices, equalled every exigence of war, will ever be regarded as the child of your

---

* See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., pp. 444, 446.

genius. Well do I remember the honorable testimony of the gallant Lafayette, amidst the thunder of our batteries on the lines at Yorktown. 'We* fire,' exclaimed he, with a charming enthusiasm, 'better than the French' (and faith we did, too). To this I made a suitable objection. His reply was, 'Upon honor, I speak the truth; and the progress of your artillery is regarded by every body as one of the wonders of the Revolution.' Shame, then, to this infamous scribbler; and let his heart burst under the idea, that your country has derived the most substantial benefit from your services, — that the good and wise acknowledge your merit, — and that Humphreys was not less just than poetical in characterizing, by a single line,† the man to whose abilities he had been witness in the various events of a long and trying war.

"I take my leave of you for the present, my dear friend, — happy, under all circumstances, in knowing you to be such, — and, with the most affectionate regards to yourself and family, remain ever your

"S. Shaw."

Major Shaw, on arriving in the United States, entered immediately upon engagements incident to the voyage he was contemplating. While these were in progress, he paid his addresses to Hannah, the daughter of William Phillips, Esquire, of Boston, of a family distinguished for its virtues and its prosperity. To this lady he was married on the 21st of August, 1792, and thus formed a connection from which he had every reason to expect the domestic happiness he so highly prized. This event did not, however, either change his plans relative to a voyage to China, or delay his preparation for it; and in the month of February, 1793, he sailed from New York, in a ship of his own, for Bombay. Of his feelings on this occasion no record remains, except the following extract from a letter dated January 28th, 1793, to a young relative of his wife,* who was then contemplating a European tour.

---

* Lafayette, being in the service of the United States, always spoke as an American.

† "E'er Steuben brought the Prussian lore from far,
And Knox *created* all the stores of war."

"We are in excellent season, and a better ship than we have need not be under any man's foot. So you and our friends may calculate on seeing me again in eighteen months, I hope essentially the same friend. Any trifling alteration in external appearance I will not grudge. That may probably change a little, — *sed non animus*, — certainly, as far as the cordial affection I cherish for you. The forebodings of my wife I soothe by convincing her that there is no room for anxiety. We go, and of course we shall come, in season; and I wind up my argument to her with the words of the chaplain in the song of poor Jack: —

'He said, not a sparrow can founder, d' ye see,
Without orders that come down below;
And many fine things, that prove clearly to me,
There 's a Providence takes us in tow.'

And now, my dear fellow, to this same kind Providence do I commend you, both at home and abroad, — for, on recollection, I find I must not expect to meet you at my return. Your travels will commence before mine end. The essence and quintessence of instruction for travellers are contained in those lines of the immortal Shakspeare, in Polonius's advice to his son, so beautifully expressed in 'Hamlet.' A modern traveller (Sherlock in his 'Letters') says, — 'I read Polonius's advice once a week during my travels.' The young man who comprehends, in its full extent, the last precept he gives, will win the affections of the deserving every day; and I will venture to say he will keep his conquests: —

'This above all, — *to thine own self be true*,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.'"

---

* The author of this Memoir.

The only other remaining evidence of his feelings about this period is the following entry made in a large quarto Bible, which had been, in January, 1791, presented to him as a New Year's gift, by his friend Thomas Freeman, one of the select committee for managing the affairs of the English East India Company at Canton in China.

"Boston, October 2d, 1792. This day I enter my thirty-ninth year. For the happiness hitherto enjoyed, may gratitude to the Author of my being manifest itself in a humble and honest endeavour after a conformity to his will, at all times and under all circumstances. To the relations of son, brother, friend, and citizen, has lately been added that of husband. Beneficent Parent of the universe! as in the years that are past, so in those which are to come, may I rejoice in thy goodness, and, whether longer or shorter, may I be satisfied with life, and cheerfully submit myself to the dispensations of thy providence!"

His outward voyage, from Boston to Bombay, was prosperous; but on that from Bombay to Canton his vessel encountered the gales called *typhoons*, which drove her from her track, and prolonged her voyage to nearly three months, so that she did not reach Canton until the 2d of November, 1793. Of these voyages, and of his subsequent residence at Canton, no special record remains. By a letter to his wife, and by one from his youngest brother, Benjamin Shaw, who accompanied him on this voyage, it appears that during his residence at Bombay he contracted a disease of the liver incident to the climate, which appeared soon after his departure from that city, and confined him to his house during the whole period of his stay at Canton. Finding no relief from medical aid at this place, he sailed in the ship Washington for the United States, on the 17th of March, 1794. The disease, however, increased with the voyage, and in about ten weeks terminated his life. An extract from a letter to his widow, written by his friend and partner, Thomas Randall, who accompanied him on this voyage, relates the circumstances of that event, and his own feelings on the occasion.

"Sandy Hook, August 24, 1794.

"Dear Madam: — With a heart deeply distressed I take the pen to inform you of the death of my beloved and esteemed friend, Mr. Samuel Shaw, who died on board the ship Washington, near the Cape of Good Hope, on Friday afternoon, 3 o'clock, on the 30th of May last. Every effort was used by the surgeon, Mr. Dodge, and the friends of Mr. Shaw, both at Canton and while at sea, to effect his recovery. At Canton, he was attended by the ablest physicians, and at sea was visited by Dr. Gillon, surgeon to Lord Macartney's embassy, then on board the Lion man-of-war; also by Dr. Macrea, surgeon to the Hindostan Indiaman; but, alas! his disease was too inveterate for medical aid.

"My friend died with a calm strength of mind, and expressed his solicitude for the happiness of his remaining friends to the last.

"I feel myself, dear Madam, so greatly afflicted at this event, that I cannot find words to offer you consolation upon the affecting loss of so near and dear a connection to you.

"Permit me, while I most sincerely lament your loss, to join my griefs to yours, and to assure you, dear madam, of the respectful and affectionate esteem, with which I am

"Your most obedient servant,
"THOMAS RANDALL."

An extract from the journal of James Dodge, the surgeon of the ship, furnishing further particulars of his illness and death, is also here subjoined.*

---

* "Mr. Shaw was consul for the United States of America at Canton in China, in which office he continued from the year 1786 until his death. He was born in Boston, the 2d of October, 1754, and at the

The arrival of the ship in which Major Shaw had sailed from Canton brought the first intimation of his illness and death. To Mrs. Shaw, who was every moment expecting his return, this sad intelligence was overwhelming, and its effect permanent. The society of her sister, and the devoted, affectionate attentions of Edward Dowse, Esq., her brother-in-law, in whose family she subsequently resided, with the lapse of years, mitigated the poignancy of her deep-seated grief. But no time could obliterate the recollection of her loss, no attentions cause her devoted attachment to the memory of her husband to waver. Constant in her friendships, munificent in acts of charity, assiduous in manifestations of kindness towards the relatives of her husband, and seeking and enjoying the consolations of religion, she survived many

---

time of his decease was aged thirty-nine years and six months. During the war he was active in the field in defence of his country, in offices of honor and command, while the most amiable disposition made him a favorite in scenes of private life. He was a man rather tall and portly than otherwise, of an open countenance and benevolent heart, cheerful without levity, and sedate without reserve; in the hurry of business he had leisure to attend the distressed, and his hand was ever open to indigence and want. His manners were refined, and his sentiments worthy the character he possessed; many a heavy heart has been enlivened by his sociability; and his freedom of conversation and familiar deportment towards all the officers endeared him to them by the most pleasant ties. The evening scarcely ever passed away without some little anecdote, and we were often willing to let our tea grow cold at breakfast to attend to his amusing conversation. I was often flattered in his sickness to hear him say, nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see me at his house in Boston; and then he would tell me of the variety of pleasure I would enjoy at his seat. Not long before his death, as I was standing by him (we were alone), he took hold of my hand and pressed it affectionately to his breast; he then sighed heavily, and, casting his eyes on the miniature of his wife, that hung at the foot of the berth, sighed again, and said, 'God's will be done.' I found it impossible to supyears, and died at Dedham, on the 24th of January, 1833, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

The esteem in which Major Shaw was held by his contemporaries, and the impression made upon them by his death, are vividly expressed in an obituary notice published at Boston, in the "Columbian Centinel," on the 20th of August, 1794, from which are taken the following extracts: —

"His fine natural talents, elegant erudition, and social benevolence, gained him the esteem of a numerous acquaintance, and fitted him for extensive usefulness to society. As an officer in the army, in which he served during the whole of the late war, his merit was conspicuous. Though possessed of much romantic ardor, he supported a dignity and consistency of character; was equally prudent and brave, and ever attentive to the duties of his station."

"In his character of American consul for the port of Canton, he was called to act a part which required much discretion and

---

press a tear, which fell over my cheek upon his hand, which when he saw he said, 'My dear friend, you know I am dying; speak comfort to me.' From this time he sunk rapidly. He took an affectionate leave of all his friends, and I think I have witnessed but one so interesting scene before. His poor servant, who had attended him in all his missions with unceasing and faithful attention, when he could do no more for his master, stood at his bedside and wept.

"At one o'clock this afternoon, our dear friend, Major Shaw, expired without a groan, after an illness of eight long months and ten days, — during which time he had been afflicted with severe complaints, which seemed determined to carry him off, — for, when the violence of their operations in one form was overcome, and yielding to the efforts of art, nature would assume a different type, and commence the siege again with redoubled obstinacy. Twice, indeed, during our stay at Canton, I had the pleasure of leaving him partially convalescent. His strength of constitution was amazing, and fully sufficient to have overcome almost any one complaint singly; but a complication of the most unhappy diseases overpowered both nature and art combined."

firmness. On the occasion of 'the Canton war,' as it was called, Mr. Shaw represented the American interest in such a manner as to throw a lustre on his commission, and give him great credit among the European merchants and other eminent characters abroad. At his return his conduct met the approbation of the representatives of the United States in Congress."

"He was considered as an ornament to his country, for his inflexible integrity, and a greatness of heart which he displayed on every occasion. The virtues which adorn the man, and which he manifested in his youth, became more splendid as he advanced in years, and engaged in public action. In the opinion of some persons, his spirit was too exalted to be successful in the common concerns of life. He did not love property for its own sake, but as the means of making his benevolence more extensive. He disdained many of those arts of traffic, which are daily practised, and deemed justifiable. His commercial dealings were regulated by the strictest honor, refined by the principles of philosophy and religion."

"The engagements of commercial, and even of military life, did not seduce him from a love of science. Though he had not the advantage of an academical education, yet his classical merit was so conspicuous, that, in 1790, he was presented with the honorary degree of Master of Arts by the University of Cambridge. This was done in his absence, and without his knowledge, at the solicitation of several gentlemen of eminence in literature. About the same time he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences."

"Had he lived a few years longer, his country might have derived much benefit from his abilities, his information, and his virtues. His zeal to make others happy would have endeared him still more to those who enjoyed his friendship, and made those hearts beat with new sensations of pleasure, which are now heavy with grief. The universal regret caused by his death is an evidence of the great esteem in which he was held. All who knew him lament him with expressions of sorrow equally lively and sincere."

Having thus, by the aid of such materials as now remain, traced the course of Major Shaw's life from childhood to its close, I cannot take a retrospective view of it without a mingled feeling of gratitude and joy, that by accident, or the affection of friends, so much has been preserved concerning him, at once interesting and unquestionable. The features of his character have been thus drawn in a manner by himself, not ostentatiously, nor with design. In the unreserved confidence of filial love or social affection, he narrates to his parents, brothers, or friends, the events of his military life.

His letters contain proofs of the elevation of his spirit, — of his love of liberty and of his country, — of his devotion to the American cause, and the identity of his motives and views with those which actuated the most honored patriots of the American Revolution ; and these qualities it was, that led Washington to bestow on him that noble commendation already cited, — "*From the testimony of the superior officers under whom Captain Shaw has served, as well as from my own observation, I am enabled to certify, that, throughout the whole of his service, he has greatly distinguished himself in every thing which could entitle him to the character of an intelligent, active, and brave officer.*"

Of his official conduct and commercial proceedings in China, while consul of the United States at Canton, his Journals, which follow, speak sufficiently. It was his fortune and happiness during his residence in that city, by his official influence, to give to its inhabitants the first impression of the character and resources of a new nation, of even whose existence the Chinese had previously no knowledge. His intelligence, business talent, and fidelity to his duties and engagements, his amenity of manners and gentlemanly bearing, greatly contributed to establish, in that remote country, confidence and respect for the American people. The spirit, also, with which he joined the representatives of the European nations, on an occasion both critical and hazardous, which his Journal describes, and in the results of which the rights and personal safety of foreigners were exposed to extreme peril, drew from them grateful and respectful acknowledgments ; not excepting the representatives of Great Britain, between whose subjects and those of China the difficulty had occurred. And it is not to be questioned, that his conduct in this affair had a powerful tendency to allay those feelings of hostility towards merchants from the United States residing at Canton, which the war of Independence had cherished, and which time had not yet obliterated.

JOURNALS.

FIRST VOYAGE TO CANTON.

FIRST VOYAGE TO CANTON.

Soon after the close of the war between Great Britain and America, several merchants in New York and Philadelphia being desirous of opening a commerce with Canton, in China, a ship was purchased and loaded principally with ginseng, in order to exchange it for teas and the manufactures of that country. My friend, Daniel Parker, Esq., agent for those concerned, having offered me the appointment of supercargo, I followed the advice of my friends in accepting it; and finding that Thomas Randall, Esq., my intimate friend, had an inclination to go the voyage, we agreed to try our fortunes together, and sailed from New York on Sunday, 22d February, 1784, in the ship Empress of China, commanded by John Green, Esq.* Mr. Parker, Mr. Porter, and several

---

* The ship's company were as follows: —

John Green, Esq., Captain.

Mr. Peter Hodgkinson, Second Captain.

Messrs. Robert McCaver and Abel Fitch, Mates.

Mr. John White Swift, Purser.

Robert Johnson, Esq., and Mr. Andrew Caldwell, Surgeon and Mate.

Messrs. John Green, Jr., and Samuel Clarkson, Midshipmen.

Mr. Frederick Molineaux, Captain's Clerk.

Also, thirty-four persons before the mast, including the gunner, two other gentlemen, favored us with their company as far as Sandy Hook. In passing the grand battery, we saluted with thirteen guns, and received twelve in return. At half past four, P. M., we anchored near the light-house, as did also several outward-bound ships, the wind having died away, and the flood tide beginning to make. The next day, at noon, having cleared the Hook, our friends took leave of us, and after entering the pilot-boat were saluted with nine guns, which they returned with three cheers.

On the 24th, out of sight of land; from which time till the 14th of March, when we saw the island of Palma, one of the Canaries, nothing material happened. Just before making this island, we caught a fish, called by mariners the Albacor, or Bonito. It is of the mackerel kind, with a short, round body, tapering to the tail, which is forked. Its appearance resembles that of the tunny, mentioned by Goldsmith in his "Animated Nature." We dressed it two ways, stewed and barbecued, and found it but indifferent food.

March 17th. Having in yesterday's run passed the northern tropic, the usual ceremonies were observed this afternoon by the crew. Those of them who had never before passed being confined below, about three o'clock our ship was hailed by the Old Man of the Tropic, who, being desired by the officer of the deck to come on board, entered over the bow, attended by his wife, whence they were drawn in their chariot (one of the gratings) by a number of sailors, as Tritons, to the quarter-deck, where the captain and gentlemen received them. Their appearance was truly ludicrous, having their faces blacked and

---

carpenters, a cooper, and our boys. The ship was three hundred and sixty tons, carpenter's measurement.

painted, a blanket over their shoulders, by way of robe, and a large swab on their head, instead of a crown, the long strands of which, hanging down to their waist, served for hair. After paying their compliments to the captain, and welcoming the ship to their dominion, they observed, that she was a new ship and had never been there before, and that they saw a number of faces about them who were in the same predicament. The captain having given his word that both the ship and the gentlemen should be properly entered, they returned forward and proceeded to business. The jolly-boat being previously filled with water, and a bucket containing a mixture of tar and grease placed alongside, the men who had never passed the tropic were brought up, singly and blindfold. They were welcomed with great ceremony by the old man, who told them that he was glad to see them, and should take the liberty to have them shaved before they went any farther. The candidate is then placed on a seat across the boat, and his feet kept from the water, where, still blindfold, he is lathered with the tar and grease, and shaved with a notched stick. As soon as this is done, the oath is administered to him, namely, — That he will, to the best of his ability, prove himself a good fellow, — never drink small beer while he can get strong, unless he likes the small better, — nor eat brown bread while he can get white, but under the same proviso, — never kiss the maid when he can kiss the mistress, unless he likes the maid best, — never go in an old ship when he can get a new one, unless he knows he is born to be hanged, — and, in fine, never suffer any man, where he may be, to pass the tropics or equator, for the first time, without going through the same ceremonies. A speaking-trumpet is now put into his hand, and he is told to hail the tropic. As soon as he gets the trumpet to his mouth, with an almost perpendicular elevation, a bucket of water is thrown into it, and, at the same instant, the seat on which he is placed being pulled from under him, he falls backward into the boat filled with water, where he is very handsomely washed by the bystanders, which closes the ceremony. About half a dozen went through this operation, which was conducted with great good-humor, and followed by the parties joining in drinking the grog given for the ship and the gentlemen who had crossed the tropic for the first time.

This being also St. Patrick's day, proper attention was paid by the gentlemen to the memory of the patron of Ireland.

On the 20th, we saw Boavista, at three, P. M., and, during that and the next day, the remainder of the Cape de Verde islands. Between six and seven o'clock, on the morning of the 22d, being close in with the island of St. Jago, we fired a gun, on which two pilots came on board, who soon after brought us to anchor in Port Praya. We found here a snow and two brigs, a boat from one of which came on board with the captain and supercargo, who informed us that the snow and one of the brigs belonged to Portugal, and were waiting for a third, daily expected, on whose arrival, they should all three proceed to the coast of Africa for a cargo of slaves, with which they should come back to these islands, for account of a company who have the trade of them, and thence return to Lisbon. There was also here a French brig, on her way to Cape François, with a cargo of slaves, from Senegal, the captain of which, who likewise came on board, told us that he belonged to Havre de Grâce, and had one hundred and twenty-three slaves, that cost him, on an average, about five crowns a head, who he hoped would come to a good market at the Cape, whither he intended to sail this evening. The gentlemen did us the honor to take breakfast with us, — and it was not a bad caution which our captain gave the people, to have a good lookout after the sailors who brought them on board. "These fellows," said he, "are St. Peter's children, — every finger a fish-hook, and their hand a grapnel."

At nine o'clock, the captain, Mr. Randall, and I, went ashore in the pinnace. We were met on the beach by a negro, rigged in second-hand clothes, quite *à la militaire*, namely, — a blue navy-coat, faced with the same, anchor buttons; a scarlet cloth vest, crimson plush breeches, black silk stockings, and a long brass-mounted sword. "How do do?" was the only English he could speak; however, he conducted us to the fort, where we paid our compliments to the commandant, who is a Portuguese. He received us with much formality, and asked, in French, the reason of our stopping at the island. Being answered, that it was to take in water, some live stock and fruit, and get our ship new calked in her upperworks, he told us that the former was very easy to be accomplished, but that for the latter we must depend on ourselves, as he did not know of a single calker in the whole island. He demanded five dollars as a fee for anchorage, which we paid him; and added, that, when we came on shore again, we must make him a *compliment*, after which we might trade for such articles as we wanted. We gave him a list of what we had occasion for, and he promised they should be ready in the morning, as soon as we should come on shore. After drinking a glass of grog with him, we took leave.

It being too late in the day to go to St. Jago, the capital, nine miles distant, to pay our compliments to the governor, or viceroy, we went to see the next officer in the port. He is also a Portuguese, genteel in his manners, gave us a glass of wine, and appeared very happy to see us. On telling him, by the interpreter, a negro, that we were Americans, he discovered great satisfaction, and exclaimed, with an air of pleasure and surprise, — "Bostonian! Bostonian!" In his apartment was a woman, who we supposed might be his wife. She was by no means handsome; — her complexion, whatever it might have been, was exceedingly sallow; added to this, her hair was cut all round, as close as possible, and, instead of a cap, or garland, her head was bound with a fold of white cloth, about four inches in width; a calico petticoat, and a piece of calico thrown over her shoulders by way of mantle, composed her dress. Her whole appearance was entirely different from that of the fair of our own country, and I believe she did not excite in any of us an idea that would militate with the tenth commandment, though she did not seem to be past five-and-twenty.

We returned on board at noon, and employed ourselves in writing letters to go by the French brig. To Mr. Parker I wrote an account of our transactions, respecting ship and cargo, from the time of our departure till our arrival here, taken from my journal kept for that purpose, and added a private letter, inclosing one for my friend in New York. Mr. Randall carried them on board and delivered them to the captain, having put them under cover to Messrs. Girard & Co., merchants at Cape François, with whom he had corresponded from Philadelphia. The brig is called *La Jengat*, Captain Pécot, consigned to M. Tartarel, and owned by M. Dorea, at Havre de Grâce.

The French brig sailed the next morning, and in passing gave us a salute of four swivels and *Vive le Roi!* which we returned with three cheers. A number of the naked blacks were on deck, — poor creatures, going to a state of hopeless slavery, and, torn from every tender connection, doomed to eat the bread and drink the water of affliction for the residue of their miserable lives! Good God! and is it man, whose distinguishing characteristic should be humanity and the exercise of every milder virtue, who wears sweet smiles and looks erect on heaven, — is it man, endowed by thee with a capacity for enjoying happiness and suffering misery, to whom thou hast imparted a knowledge of thyself, enabled him to judge of right and wrong, and taught to believe in a state of future retribution, — is it man, who, thus trampling upon the principles of universal benevolence, and running counter to the very end of his creation, can become a fiend to torment his fellow-creatures, and deliberately effect the temporal misery of beings equally candidates with himself for a happy immortality?

After breakfast we went on shore, and made our *compliment* to the commandant, consisting of a round of salt beef, a cheese, and some apples. He demanded a dollar, for watching some of our water-casks, which was paid him, — and begged for some wine. The market-people being assembled about his hut, we there made our purchases of goats, pigs, poultry, and fruit, which he superintended in person, and assigned as a reason, that the king received an impost on every thing that was sold. After visiting the second officer, to whom we gave a cheese and some apples, for which he seemed very grateful, we returned on board to dinner.

The mate of the Portuguese brig came on board. He had commanded a topsail schooner from Lisbon, which foundered at sea. Two of his people were lost, and an English vessel took him and the remaining six up at sea, in an open boat, forty leagues from land, and brought them here, about three weeks ago; — the boat now lies on the beach, is very old, and not eighteen feet long. How innumerable are the mischiefs to which seafaring people expose themselves! Well might Horace say, —

> "Illi robur et æs triplex
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus."

Towards sunset, the captain called me to look at a whale, which, at the distance of about five miles, appeared to be striking the water very forcibly with its tail. The people on board said it was attacked by the sword-fish and thresher, and gave this account of the combat. The sword-fish keeps under the whale, pricking him up, to prevent his descending, while the thresher, with his sharp tail, is cutting large pieces out of him, &c. This account is generally believed among seafaring people; though, on inquiry, I cannot find any of ours who have ever seen the thresher. It would seem that the tail of the whale striking the water is mistaken by them for this imaginary antagonist. Goldsmith, in his "Animated Nature," gives the following relation of the manner in which the sword-fish attacks the whale.

"The sword-fish is the whale's most terrible enemy. 'At the sight of this little animal,' says Anderson, 'the whale seems agitated in an extraordinary manner, leaping from the water, as if with affright: wherever it appears, the whale perceives it at a distance, and flies from it in the opposite direction. I have been myself,' continues he, 'a spectator of their terrible encounter. The whale has no instrument of defence except the tail; with that it endeavours to strike the enemy, and a single blow taking place would effectually destroy its adversary: but the sword-fish is as active as the other is strong, and easily avoids the stroke; then bounding into the air, it falls upon its great subjacent enemy, and endeavours, not to pierce with its pointed beak, but to cut with its toothed edges. The sea all about is soon dyed with blood, proceeding from the wounds of the whale; while the enormous animal vainly endeavours to reach its invader, and strikes with its tail against the surface of the water, making a report at each blow louder than the noise of a cannon.' "

We were not near enough to judge of all these circumstances, but we very plainly saw the tail of the whale striking the water, and distinctly heard the report of the blows.

" There is," continues Goldsmith, " another and more powerful enemy, called, by the fishermen of New England, the Killer. This is itself a cetaceous animal, armed with strong and powerful teeth. A number of these are said to surround the whale, in the same manner as dogs get round a bull. Some attack it with their teeth behind; others attempt it before; until, at last, the great animal is torn down, and its tongue is said to be the only part they devour when they have made it their prey. They are said to be of such great strength, that one of them alone was known to stop a dead whale that several boats were towing along, and drag it from among them to the bottom."

On the 25th, at sunrise, the proper arrangements having been made the evening before, the captain, Mr. Randall, the purser, doctor, and I, went on shore, mounted our horses, and proceeded for the town, or rather city, of St. Jago, with a negro guide on foot, who, notwithstanding, out-travelled our horses. There are crucifixes at small distances all along the road, and about half-way is a small stone church, in the yard of which is a crucifix surrounded by skull-bones. Our guide, in passing any of these crucifixes, always pulled off his hat. Near this church were a number of small huts, and a plantation, through which ran a small stream, from which we picked and ate a few water-cresses. At the edge of the high ground above the town are the ruins of an old fort, that appears to have been a regular fortification, flanked by four bastions, commanding the town, which is situated near the water. At the first hut after passing these ruins we saw some blacks, decently clothed, who told us, in Latin, that they were scholars, and designed for the church, could read Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Cicero, but did not understand Greek. They directed us to the house where the viceroy lives, in point of elegance nearly equal to a good barn. His Excellency was confined to his bed by a fever, but, after being informed that we were Americans, he gave orders for us to be introduced into his chamber. Having announced our reasons for putting in at this island, which I was obliged to do in French, to one of his soldiers, of that nation, who served as interpreter, his Excellency bade us welcome, told us we had permission to go wherever we pleased, and made us a tender of his services in any thing we might have occasion for during our stay. He is a native of the country, and a mulatto, and appears to be about fifty-five years old; went to Lisbon in 1765, where he remained nine years; since when he has been viceroy of this and the other Cape de Verde islands. He inquired very particularly respecting the nature of our government, which I explained to him, and added that the Americans entertained a grateful sense of the good-will of the Portuguese towards them, manifested in the late decree of the queen, acknowledging their independence. He received the compliment as his due, and, in the course of conversation, mentioned the affair of Commodore Johnstone, who with his squadron was attacked, as he lay at anchor in Port Praya, by M. Suffrein, in the year 1780. The force on both sides was nearly equal; but the French, having the advantage by coming upon the enemy unexpectedly, did him considerable damage and sailed away. He spoke in very favorable terms of Johnstone, and appeared exceedingly partial towards the English. We mentioned a number of articles we had on board in the way of stores, and made him an offer of part, but he declined accepting any, except a few packs of cards, which, if we could spare them, he said he should be glad of. He treated us with wine, sugared almonds, fruits, and cheese, but no bread; after which, having thanked his Excellency for his civilities, we walked out to visit other parts of the city.

We went next to the convent, where are seven monks of the Franciscan order. There is a pretty chapel belonging to it, which we entered, and found a white priest with a black assistant, performing mass; the audience, exclusive of ourselves, consisting of about a dozen blacks, great and small. After staying a short time here, we went into the convent, saw the brothers, and visited the garden. It was very indifferent, and exceedingly hot, being open to the sun, and surrounded by excessively high rocks, that excluded every breath of air. On returning through the hall, we found the brothers had spread a table with some fruits, wine, preserves, and cake, of which having partaken, we thanked them for their hospitality, and gave them a few dollars for the use of their convent. All our conversation with these people was either in French, by the interpreter, or in Latin, which, though very bad on our part, they had the good manners perfectly to understand. After walking to several other parts of the city, we returned and took leave of the viceroy, who presented us with a watermelon.

St. Jago is a walled town, situated, to the south-west, on the low ground towards the sea, at the foot of a large hill, which keeps off the fresh breezes that are met with on the high grounds, and renders the place extremely hot. When the town was in its most flourishing state, there might have been about three hundred houses; but the greater part, and some of them the best, are now without inhabitants, and in ruins. This, I was told, is owing to the trade having been diverted from this to the neighbouring islands, and to the removal of many to the town of St. Domingo, a healthy and pleasant situation on the other side of the island. There are two prisons here, and several churches, one of which is large, has four bells, and, by its inscription, appears to have been built in 1696, and is still in good order. The buildings are mostly of stone, covered with brick tile, and have very little glass, — either the public or the private. Besides the gate by which we entered the town, there is another at the north-west extremity. These openings, for the gates are taken away, appear to be the only places of ingress or egress, by land; towards the water it is entirely open, and has nothing to defend it but the old fort on the hill and four small guns near the shore.

After ascending the hill, on our return, we sat down at the gate of the ruined fort, to enjoy the cool breeze and eat our watermelon. There is a fine view of the sea from this eminence, and a distant prospect of the island of Fogo, directly opposite, the base of it just visible,— then a cloud, and above that the high land appearing very plain. After a fatiguing ride, we got on board ship to dinner, about four o'clock, and sent the viceroy, as a present, some biscuit, half a dozen of *good* wine (for his own was very ordinary), a cheese, and three packs of cards, accompanied by a letter of acknowledgment, in French, for the attention he had shown us. These were delivered to the soldier that had served as our interpreter, who was sent by the governor to receive the cards we had promised him.

The next day, our captain, Mr. Randall, and the doctor, went ashore, after dinner, a shooting. During their absence, I wrote to my friend in New York, by the two vessels that are to sail for Lisbon after our departûre. Our sportsmen returned on board at evening, with a few small birds, and a very excellent turkey, which the second officer, to whom we had given a cheese and some apples, had presented to the captain.

On the morning of the 27th, the captain and I went on shore and took leave of the commandant, to whom we gave four bottles of wine. This commandant appears in every respect foreign to the idea one would form of a gentleman. He does not seem to want sense, but is exceedingly deficient in good breeding and hospitality. Although we never went on shore without calling to see him, and made him two *compliments*, instead of one, he did not once, excepting the first day, when he gave us some grog, ask either of us to eat or drink; and yet, on our return from the city of St. Jago, he knew we had not dined, and told us that we looked very much fatigued. We returned on board about eleven o'clock, and, as it was determined the ship should sail in the evening, I employed the remainder of the day in writing letters. Duplicates of those that went by the way of Cape François, together with a detail of transactions since our arrival here, were addressed to Mr. Parker, in New York, with a private letter, enclosing what I had written to my friend. The packet was put under cover to Mr. Le Fevre, merchant in Lisbon, and, in duplicate, carried by Mr. Randall on board the two vessels intended for that place.

The island of St. Jago is about fifty miles long, and, in some parts, upwards of thirty wide, and is the largest of those called the Cape de Verde. It is exceedingly mountainous, and in those parts entirely barren; but the valleys are well cultivated from one end to the other, and produce abundance of fruits, such as oranges, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, bananas, figs, pine-apples, and a few limes; also, very fine Indian corn and small beans. Plenty of live stock may be had here, namely, goats, pigs, sheep, horned-cattle, and poultry. There are, besides, small horses, asses, and little green monkeys with black faces. The inhabitants amount to about six thousand; one hundred and fifty of whom only are whites, the remainder blacks, mulattoes, &c.; of these, numbers are priests. Besides the city of St. Jago, already mentioned, there is a considerable inland town, St. Domingo, lying north-east from Port Praya, and about the same distance from it as St. Jago.

Port Praya, at the south end of the island, is in latitude 14° 54′ north, and longitude 23° 29′ west from

London. Two points projecting towards the sea form the bay, nearly semicircular, where there is good water and safe anchorage for ships of any burden, the distance from one point to the other being about a league. Here the shipping take in water and refreshments, and may ride with safety nine months of the year, during which time the wind is northerly, and off the land. The months of June, July, and August are the rainy season, when the wind, being southerly, renders the bay very dangerous. On an eminence to the eastward, within the bay, is a fort that mounts about a dozen old iron guns, for the protection of the port. It is open in the rear and on both flanks. Its garrison consists of about forty whites and two hundred blacks, who live in miserable huts, built of stones and thatched with the leaves of the cocoa-tree. The only good buildings in it are the chapel, the prison, and a store-house. The non-commissioned officers are principally blacks. The uniform of the officers is blue, faced with red and trimmed with silver, with red underclothes. The trade of the island is conducted by a company, who have a factory not far from the fort. Their vessels arrive here from Lisbon, whence they go to the coast of Africa for slaves, which they dispose of in their other islands, and return here to complete their homeward cargoes.

Such vessels as put in here for refreshments only procure them from the negroes, many of whom are free. They are generally intelligent, more honest than the whites allow their color to be, and many of them write very well, and speak English. I was particularly pleased with the behaviour of a boy about thirteen or fourteen years of age, who wanted to buy a blanket. "If you sell him to me," says he, "I gib you de little pig, de chicken, de orange." I told him I had none to sell, and asked him if he had parents. His father, he answered, was gone to heaven from the coast of Africa, and his mother was still living on the island. I told him he was a good boy, and gave him a small piece of silver. "Ah, massa, you say me good boy, me no teef, me no tell lie," was his reply; and he seemed more grateful for my good opinion of him than for the money. The men discover much sagacity in their traffic, — one of whom, being told that he asked too much for his corn, answered, "No matter; me see last night in my sleep two English ships come here tree day more, buy much corn, and give one dollar bushel."

Our putting in at Port Praya was occasioned by the upperworks of our ship proving leaky, and a discovery that part of our water had been lost by the badness of the casks. This rendered an examination of the whole of that article necessary, and the event convinced us of the propriety of the measure; for, had we gone on without stopping, we must inevitably have wanted it, before we could have reached the Straits of Sunda. Vessels bound from America to China would do well to stop here, or at some of the neighbouring islands, where they may make small repairs, and take in water, live stock, and fruits, which conduce greatly to the preservation of health, in passing the warm latitudes. We accomplished all these objects in six days, stowed ten of our guns below, made room between decks, which rendered the men more comfortable, and put our ship in much better trim than she had been in before; and at seven o'clock this evening we came to sail, with a fair wind and pleasant weather. I forgot to mention, that, during our stay at Port Praya, we had plenty of fish, particularly the barracuda and kingfish, which were exceedingly good, and not much unlike our pike in appearance.

On the night between the 27th and 28th, three flying-fishes fell on board. The 31st, we saw a small shark playing under our stern. A hook baited with a piece of pork soon brought him upon deck. He was two feet and a half long, and made a couple of dishes at dinner; part was put in pickle for an hour, dried in the sun and broiled, the remainder boiled and eaten with plain butter. The night of the 31st, one of the monkeys, of which our people had three on board, fell into the sea, and the next morning Pug was discovered holding fast by the fishing-line, that had been left out for a fish, and was brought in without further injury. On the 8th of May, we caught a porpoise, and the next day it was cooked several ways: the liver fried, as good as that of a young hog, — the flesh boiled, roasted, and made into soup. The roasted had a wild taste, not unlike venison; and no person, unless he had been told, would ever have supposed it to be fish. It was fortunate for those of us who had never been at sea before that we caught nothing worse than shark or porpoise, as it was a point on which we were agreed, to *taste*, at least, of every thing we did catch.

From St. Jago, we proceeded to the southward, till the 9th of April, when we crossed the line, and that day, at noon, observed in 0° 4′ south latitude, being, by account, in 20° 31′ west longitude from London. On the 5th of May, we were, by reckoning, in 36° 23′ south latitude, and 1° 20′ east longitude; thence keeping between the parallels of 36° and 39° (26th of May, 39° 24′), we run down our longitude till the 5th of June; being that day, by observation, in 36° 35′ south latitude, and, by account, in 76° 11′ east longitude, we hauled to the northward, without making the island of St. Paul.

On the 25th of June, being, by account at noon, in 7° 52′ south latitude, and 105° 15′ east longitude, we expected to make the island of Java, — having observed, the four preceding days, pieces of reed, bamboo-root, and other wood passing us, besides a species of birds differing from any we had hitherto seen. These birds are by the sailors called boobies. We killed one of them on the spritsail-yard, and another lodged upon the tafferel and was seized by our boys, who afterwards caught numbers of them by holding out poles, on which they alighted and were taken. They are generally gray, about the size of the tame duck, have a long, pointed beak, webbed feet, and long wings. They live upon flying and other small fishes, which, upon being caught, they instantly disgorge whole. They were lean, very fishy, and but indifferent food. There is also a large bird, called the albatross, that we have frequently seen during our passage. It is of the size of the goose, and very shy. We repeatedly attempted to take them, — particularly by baiting a hook with a piece of meat, and letting it go astern with a long line, floated by corks, — but without effect. They must be exceedingly strong, as common log-line was insufficient to hold them, and one of them, on being hooked, broke the deep-sea line of the ship, to which the hook was fastened, and carried part of it away with him.

July 9th, Captain Hodgkinson, being out with the jolly-boat, endeavouring to take some small fishes, caught three snakes, which he struck with the grains. They were between three and four feet long, and had dark brown backs, yellowish sides and bellies, with black and white stripes or checks on the tail. As they had no fins, and on being opened had a kind of grass in their maw, we considered them as amphibious, and a corroboration of our being near land.

At sunrise on the 15th, we saw four water-spouts, to the eastward, very near. Where they appeared to touch the water, that element seemed to have a boiling motion, attended with smoke. They were visible more than an hour.

Friday, July 17th. Having, ever since the 25th ult., been beating to the eastward, and occasionally running in for the land, we had the good fortune, at half past three o'clock this afternoon, to discover it, and soon ascertained it to be Java Head. It bore N. E. by N. ten or twelve leagues. Having made up my reckoning to this time, we were, by account, in 7° 24′ south latitude, and 111° 13′ east longitude. Java Head, according to Moore, is in 6° 49′ south latitude, and 106° 55′ east longitude from London.*

The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, we opened the Straits of Sunda, and at noon saw a ship, distant between three and four leagues, sailing up the straits near the Java shore. At three o'clock we hoisted the American ensign, and at four saw a very large ship at anchor in the cove, — the first under sail for, and in half an hour coming to anchor by her, both of them having French ensigns hoisted.

At four o'clock, two canoes made towards us from the Java shore, one of which, with five natives, came on board, the other not being able to reach us. These people are middle-sized and well-made, — complexion similar to that of the North American savage, with regular features and a pleasing countenance, though their teeth are excessively black, owing to an herb they chew, which dyes their lips a claret, or rather, *pompadour* color. They wear a handkerchief about their heads, and a piece of calico or check round their waist, hanging as low as the knee. After selling us some fowls and cocoa-nuts, they went to Prince's island. Shortly after, another came on board, and for half a dollar gave us as many fish as would serve both cabins for supper. The boats, or canoes, are from fifteen to twenty feet long, and about two and a half wide; mast from ten to twelve feet long; canvass sail as long, and about four feet wide, extended on two pieces of reed, and crossing the mast diagonally; a piece of reed, six inches in diameter, fixed with outriggers from the side of the boat, to keep it by the wind, seven or eight feet distance from and two thirds the length of the boat. These boats are covered with pieces of reed, or bamboo, on which the occupants sit, and underneath keep their fish, fowls, &c.; they have oars, and steer with a paddle. The fish we had of them were the red spotted and common yellow-tailed snappers, — the former a most beautiful vermilion color. They, as well as the groper, a shorter and thicker fish, which we also had, are of the perch kind.

---

* A subsequent edition corrects this position, and makes it 6° 45′ S. and 104° 50′ E., which agrees with Dunn's Directory.

As soon as it was dark, we hung up two lanterns, which being answered by the ships, we came to anchor, at a quarter after eight o'clock, in nineteen fathoms of water, — our people all in good health, and no accident having happened since our departure from New York.

On the 18th, in the forenoon, the captain, Mr. Randall, and I, went on board the large ship, the captain of which, with his officers, received us very politely. She is called the Triton, a sixty-four, but armed *en flute*, with only sixteen light cannon, and one hundred and eighty-four men. She left Brest the 20th of March, and arrived here the day before yesterday ; will sail for Canton, after watering and taking in wood to last thither and back to Europe. This is rendered necessary by the circumstance, that the season makes it unsafe to stop here on the return, and that at Canton wood is sold by weight, and none to be had at the Cape of Good Hope. Another ship of the same size is gone through the Straits of Malacca, and a third is daily expected here, all bound for Canton, and with their cargoes and money estimated at six million livres. There being no permanent East India company in France, the king has lent these ships to a company of merchants for the present expedition. The captain is a chevalier of St. Louis, appears to be a man of information, and has been repeatedly to China. He says, that, the day before he left Paris, the Marquis de la Fayette received the order of the American Society of the Cincinnati, and that the king had granted permission to such officers as were entitled to it to accept and be invested with it. He adds, that the French are much pleased with the honor done to their nation by the institution. On our leaving his ship, the sides and yards were manned, and we were saluted with thrice *vive le roi*, which we answered by three cheers.

The other ship is less than ours, called the Fabius, without guns, and carries thirty-six men. She arrived here yesterday, from the Cape of Good Hope, which she left the 15th of May, bound for Batavia, with cannon and stores for the Dutch government there. As no certain information had been received with respect to a definitive peace between England and Holland, it was politic to employ a French vessel. The captain was in the fleet under the Duc d'Orvilliers in the affair with Admiral Keppel, in July, 1778, — and in that under Count de Grasse, in the Chesapeake ; at the surrender of the British army at Yorktown to the combined forces of America and France, in October, 1781 ; and afterwards in the memorable engagement between the unfortunate though gallant De Grasse and Rodney, on the 12th of April following. On leaving this ship, the same compliments passed as with the other, and in about two hours after, the captain returned our visit. The commanders of both ships are lieutenants in the royal navy, the first apparently sixty, and the other about forty years old.

We had many of the natives alongside this day. They are exceedingly fond of opium, and would put twelve or fourteen grains at once into their mouths without any bad effect. We bought of them turtle of fifty pounds' weight for half a dollar, and a dozen fowls for a dollar. They had monkeys, of which our sailors bought several, of the size of those we saw at St. Jago, but of a grayish dun color.

The captain of the Triton, M. d'Ordelin, and his second-captain, M. Cordeaz, returned our visit in the forenoon of the 19th. They examined our charts (Dunn's), which they said were good, and invited us to dine with them the next day. M. Cordeaz was with Count de Grasse's fleet in the Chesapeake, and in the action with Rodney. After dinner, the captain, Mr. Randall, Mr. Swift, and I, went ashore at Mew island, where the three ships get wood. Water is procured from the Java shore so conveniently, that casks are filled by a short hose without taking them from the boat ; but it is dangerous going into the woods, as they abound with tigers and other wild animals.

In the forenoon of the 20th, a large Dutch ship passed up the straits. The same day, the captain, Mr. Randall, and I, dined on board the Triton. Dinner as elegantly served as if we had been at an entertainment on shore. There are twenty gentlemen every day at table, — exceedingly polite, and very glad at meeting us. The captain having acquainted us that he shall sail on Thursday, and expressed a wish to render us every service in his power, we concluded to go in company with him to Canton. He has been there eleven times, and is perfectly acquainted with the navigation in these seas. The principal supercargo, M. Trolliez, made us similar offers in his line. While we were at dinner, another Dutch ship passed up the straits. In the afternoon we went ashore at Mew island, in company with the second captain, also M. Colombe (captain of the Fabius), and a captain of the French infantry, who obtained permission to make the voyage in the Triton, merely from motives of curiosity. This principle, combined with the cause of religion, and perhaps other considerations, has induced a young priest not only to undertake the voyage, but to bid his native country adieu for ever. He is to reside at Pekin, in quality of a missionary, where are many of his brethren, who have a large church, the free exercise of their religion, and a handsome establishment. He appears to be under thirty, is sensible and polite. The officers say he is a man of great science, is furnished with a complete apparatus for experimental philosophy, and is acquainted with the principles and construction of the air-balloon lately invented by M. de Montgolfier, at Paris. These, as well as his genteel deportment, will no doubt render him an acquisition to the Chinese, and to his brethren in that country. God speed him ! — it is a great sacrifice he makes, — for, by the laws of China, no stranger, after having been allowed to reside in the imperial city, is ever suffered to return.

The next day, the captain of the Triton sent us his day and night signals. I wrote duplicate letters to Mr. Parker, in New York, and enclosed them separately to Messrs. John de la Neufville and Son, in Amsterdam. These letters I gave in the afternoon to the captain of the Fabius, on board the Triton, who promised to send one by the first opportunity from Batavia, and take charge of the other himself, if there should not be an earlier conveyance.

Mr. Swift, Captain Green, Mr. Randall, and I, in company with the second captain and two officers of the Triton, went ashore at Mew island, where, after planting Indian corn, oats, peas, beans, and potatoes, we drank a bottle of madeira, and another of champagne, to the success of our garden. This island, which is uninhabited, is called by the French Cantaya. In the creek that separates it from Java are plenty of fish, and in the neighbourhood a very large kind of bats, that take their flight about sunset. They appear to be as large as a full-grown fowl, and are said by the French to be excellent eating. At this place the captain of the Triton had a board nailed up, whereon were inscribed his name, that of the ship, and the day of her arrival and departure.

Thursday, July 22d, at sunrise, we came to sail, in company with the French ships. Anchored at ten o'clock at night. The next morning we weighed, and at noon lowered the jolly-boat and took two turtle. At four, P. M., anchored off the island of Serigny. A sergeant from the shore visited the ship in his prow, with a printed paper containing queries, — "Where or by whom owned, — come from, — bound ?" &c., — to which the proper answers were annexed by the captain. Mr. Randall, the captain, and I, went on board the Triton. The officers commended the sailing of our ship highly. To-morrow, should the weather be clear, they intend taking an observation to ascertain the longitude by the sun and moon. Four times during their voyage they have thus ascertained their longitude, on neither of which occasions, they say, were they out of their reckoning more than twenty miles. At sunset, the Fabius was scarcely visible astern. N. B. — Both the Triton and our ship are sheathed with copper.

After breakfast, on the 24th, Captain Hodgkinson, the doctor, Mr. Randall, Mr. Swift, and I, went ashore to the settlements of Serigny, on Java. A number of natives assembled, and, on our landing, an old man advanced and offered us his hand. From the beach, we went into the town, consisting of between four and five hundred huts, built of cane or bamboo reed, and covered with a thatch of leaves and straw, — apparently commodious and clean. When we were nearly in the middle of the settlement, we were met by the chief, attended by upwards of a hundred of his countrymen, some of whom were armed with spears, and all with knives. He received us with an open, smiling countenance, shook hands, and pronounced the words, "Me grandee Bantam"; and on our making signs to him and pointing to our ship, he replied, "'Mericans," which information he must have had from the Dutchman on board of us the day before. After conducting us through the main street, he led us into a large yard, enclosed with a stone wall, and well shaded by large trees, his house being in the centre. He invited us to walk into the house, which we declining, he attended us to the gate, where we took leave, by shaking hands, and drinking a cup of our wine to his health. He was apparently about thirty years old, handsome, and clad in a rich chintz gown and underclothes, with a piece of fine chintz about his head for a turban, and a girdle, or rather sash, of blue, white, and red silk and gold, about his waist, in which was placed his poniard, in a sheath of yellow metal, highly polished; his feet and legs were bare. There was something noble and very pleasing in his looks, while his behaviour was altogether friendly and engaging.

From this settlement we walked to the other, about three miles farther, — not materially different from the first. Here we found the second captain, the surgeon, the captain of infantry, and three other gentlemen from the Triton, purchasing beef, turtle, fowls, &c.

The settlements lie on the seashore, and are surrounded by rice-fields, which the natives cultivate for their subsistence. They have also pine-apples, Indian corn, bananas, cucumbers, cocoa-nuts, besides all kinds of poultry in abundance, buffalo (which is their beef), and goats. The soil is rich, and from the place where we landed to the upper settlement the road is perfectly level, covered with a most beautiful verdure, and leading through a continued grove of cocoa-nut trees, whose shade afforded us a comfortable shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, and the milk of the nuts a most cooling and refreshing liquor.

The inhabitants of these places get a great part of their subsistence by fishing, there being not much short of two hundred boats, great and small, belonging to them. These are built and rigged in the manner already mentioned, and are of every size, from such as will carry only a single person, to those that will take thirty or forty. The larger kind have a shed over them, reaching from the stern to the middle of the boat, made of reeds and straw, to defend the crew from the weather. About seventy of the smaller sort went out at sunrise to fish, and at noon returned with their cargoes of small and large fish, having nets proper for each. The beach is very low for a considerable distance from the shore, over which the sea breaks a great length, and roars exceedingly, so that, if any boats were left there, they would soon be stove to pieces. To prevent this, and for the security of their small fleet, the inhabitants have dug canals from fifteen to twenty feet wide, leading to basins in the rear of their settlements, sufficient to contain the whole. Over these canals and basins, which in each settlement must be crossed in many places, are bridges, constructed of timbers laid from one bank to the other, and covered with strips of reed, interlaced in the manner of mats, well fastened, neatly wrought, and sufficiently strong. The people are numerous, and, from the great disproportion in favor of the children, the women must be exceedingly prolific. They are Mahometans, and in each settlement have a mosque. Both men and women are armed with knives, which they constantly carry about them, in a wooden scabbard hanging across the shoulder; notwithstanding which, they appear placid in their manners to each other, and courteous towards strangers. It is said, however, that they are not pleased with any attention paid by strangers to their women, who, for that reason, probably, are shy, and seldom make their appearance.

These places are dependent on Bantam and Batavia.

That which we first visited has a Dutch sergeant and two privates as a garrison, with two small brass cannon, carrying a ball of about half a pound, and a Dutch flag, which is hoisted occasionally. The sergeant goes or sends to every vessel that passes, for answers to queries like those presented to us, and transmits them to Bantam, whence they are forwarded to Batavia. The carriers go along the seashore all the way, as it would be dangerous for them, on account of the natives, to go through the country. The sergeant showed a poisoned knife, and said many of the natives have them besides their spears, which are also poisoned; — he added, that, so virulent is this poison, that the smallest scratch with one of these weapons is quick and certain death.

Refreshments, in general, are nearly twice as dear here as we found them at the entrance of the straits. There are doves, paroquets, and a variety of other birds, both in respect to plumage and notes, to be bought here. After remaining till the tide made, we left the last of these places about nine o'clock, and returned on board ship by eleven, not a little fatigued with the adventures of the day.

On our concluding to sail in company with the Triton, M. d'Ordelin acquainted us that he intended not to go the common route, through the Straits of Banca, but to attempt one more to the eastward, between Banca and Biliton. He was informed of this passage by a French gentleman, M. Gaspar, who, in a Spanish vessel, made it with the utmost safety, in going to and returning from China, having from twelve to twenty-five fathoms soundings. Accordingly, having come to sail, on Sunday, July 25th, we proceeded as fast as the winds and currents would allow, till the 2d of August, when the two ships came to anchor, and the Triton sent out her boat to explore the passage. On visiting M. d'Ordelin, he informed Captain Green and me that his coming to so early was owing to an apprehension either that the land we saw could not be that through which the passage would be found, or that his information respecting it must have been wrong, as, on sounding, he found only five and a half, where he expected twelve fathoms. His charts seeming to confirm the latter opinion, he sent out an officer in a boat to make further discovery, — and we agreed, that, if the wind should not permit the boat to return during the night, we would, in our ship, taking one or two of his officers with us, stand in towards the shore at daylight, under easy sail, and make him signals. He gave us one of his charts, and the next morning, when M. Cordeaz with another officer came on board, we had the satisfaction to learn that their boat had just returned, after finding the passage, with the soundings as marked in the chart; and that the apprehension they had been under arose from a mistake of the man who gave the soundings at noon, in calling the *eleven* mark *five.* Making sail, at five o'clock in the morning, we led the way through the straits, having regular soundings, and came to anchor at three o'clock, P. M., the body of Gaspar isle bearing from our ship S. E. by E., two miles distant. Mr. McCaver, Mr. Randall, the surgeon, and I, went on shore. On the rock off Gaspar we found many eggs and young birds. There is only a boat-passage between it and Gaspar, and on the other side of the island there are shoals which render it imprudent to go nearer than we did. We had not time to ascertain whether there was water on the island, but, from its verdure, the croaking of frogs, and the flocks of white pigeons, that article is no doubt to be found there.

Leaving Gaspar island, on the morning of the 4th of August, the two ships proceeded in company; and having, on the 23d, in the forenoon, got pilots from Macao, they anchored in the roads at four, P. M., and saluted the town.

On the 24th, in the morning, the French consul, with several gentlemen from Macao, visited us, and, on leaving the ship, were saluted with nine guns. These gentlemen having invited me to pass the day with them at Macao, I accompanied them in their boat. The consul went with me to present me to the Portuguese governor, but his Excellency not being at home, he left a written report of our visit. I dined at this gentleman's house, in company with the French, Swedish, and Imperial supercargoes, and some gentlemen from the Triton. In the afternoon, Mr. Randall, Captain Hodgkinson, the doctor, Mr. Swift, and Mr. Green, with some gentlemen of the Triton, who had dined on board our ship, came on shore. The doctor, Captain Hodgkinson, and I, passed the evening and lodged with the Swedish consul; Mr. Randall and the other gentlemen did the same with the French consul. Having given these gentlemen copies of the treaties between America and the European powers in amity with her, we took leave of them the next morning, and returned on board.

This day (25th) being the anniversary of St. Louis, the same was announced by twenty-one guns from the Triton, at sunrise, which were answered by thirteen from our ship. These salutes were repeated at noon. At two, P. M., having our pilot on board, we came to sail, and, in passing M. d'Ordelin, saluted him with nine guns, which he returned with an equal number.

"The city of Macao," says the writer of Anson's

Voyage, "is a Portuguese settlement, situated in an island at the entrance of the river of Canton. It was formerly very rich and populous, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese governors; but at present it is much fallen from its ancient splendor; for, though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and hath a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the sufferance of the Chinese, who can starve the place and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please. This obliges the governor of Macao to behave with great circumspection, and carefully to avoid every circumstance that may give offence to the Chinese."

The situation of Macao is very pleasant, and the gentlemen belonging to the European nations trading at Canton are well accommodated there. As soon as their ships leave Canton, and the factors have settled their accounts with the Chinese, they return to Macao, where they must reside till the ships of the next season arrive. The Dutch, Danes, and English had gone to Canton a few days before our arrival.

From Macao we proceeded towards Canton, and on the morning of the 28th, on opening the shipping at Whampoa,* we saluted them with thirteen guns, which were returned by the vessels of each nation. At eight o'clock we came to anchor, and again complimented the shipping with thirteen guns.

Previously to our coming to anchor, the French ships sent two boats, with anchors and cables, under an officer, who assisted us in getting into a good berth, and staid on board till we were moored. The Danish sent an officer, to compliment; the Dutch a boat to assist; and the English an officer "to welcome your flag to this part of the world."

---

* Fourteen miles below Canton.

In the afternoon, the captain, Mr. Randall, and I, with Mr. Green, returned the several visits in the following order: — to the two French ships, a British, a Danish, a Dutch, a Danish, three British; all of which, excepting two of the last, saluted us, on taking leave, — the French commodore with seven, and the others with nine guns, our ship returning each time an equal number. Those that did not fire were two country ships from Bengal, the guns of one being dismounted; those of the other were loaded, but, it being sunset before our visit was finished, it was contrary to custom to fire. The officers of both made suitable apologies, and gave us three cheers on leaving their ships, which we returned.

The behaviour of the gentlemen on board the respective ships was perfectly polite and agreeable. On board the English it was impossible to avoid speaking of the late war. They allowed it to have been a great mistake on the part of their nation, — were happy it was over, — glad to see us in this part of the world, — hoped all prejudices would be laid aside, — and added, that, let England and America be united, they might bid defiance to all the world. None of the captains were on board; the Dutch and Danish were at their banksalls, the French had gone to meet M. d'Ordelin, and the English were at Canton.*

---

* I cannot close my journal of our voyage to China, without expressing the great obligations we are under to M. d'Ordelin for the politeness and attention shown us by himself and his officers, and for his constant advice and assistance, since we met in the Straits of Sunda. On the 4th instant, after having cleared the Gaspar passage, he wrote us a letter, whereof the following is a copy: —

The other two French ships that left Europe in company with the Triton being arrived, and the supercargoes provided with a factory, M. Trolliez gave Mr. Randall

---

"J'ai l'honneur de souhaiter le bon soir à Monsieur Green, et de le remercier de nous avoir constamment manifesté le bon fond dans ce passage de Gaspar. Nous l'avons passé bien promptement et heureusement. Nous n'avons pas pu reconnaitre toutes les îles qui bordent l'île de Sel dans l'est. Nous trouvons une grande faute dans la position de l'île Gaspar, et la pointe de l'est de Banca, que les cartes placent E. et O. Enfin nous en voilà dehors, et bien convaincus que sans l'étourderie de notre second pilote, qui sondait hier matin, nous aurions passé dès hier sans la moindre inquiétude.

"Comme des cartes marquent un banc de roche droit au nord, quatre lieues de l'île Gaspar, nous n'appareillerons que de jour, — je dis à six heures, pour le pouvoir voir, en cas qu'il ne fût pas bien placé. Après, nous fairons valoir la route à N. N. O. jusqu'à la ligne, et peut-être aux deux bancs nommés Doggers. Après, le N. O. ¼ N. et N. O. suivant la sonde, pour ne pas manquer l'île de Pulo Timon. Les courans qui sortent des détroits de Malacca, et autres voisins, portent ordinairement au N. E.

"Nous aurons, au reste, le plaisir de nous parler, — et ce qui en sera toujours un pour moi, ce sera de vous pouvoir assurer et prouver que je suis, avec un véritable attachement,

"Monsieur,
"Votre très-humble serviteur,
"D'Ordelin.

"Bien des amitiés à tous vos messieurs. Notre canot est allé voir s'il y a de l'eau sur l'île de Gaspar, et s'il est facile de la faire."

On the arrival of the Triton at Whampoa, the 29th, we visited M. d'Ordelin, and Captain Green delivered him a letter of thanks which I had written in his name, whereof the following is a copy: —

"Monsieur d'Ordelin,

"Dans le moment que nous y sommes heureusement arrivés, c'est pour moi un devoir, autant que c'est un plaisir le plus sincère, de vous témoigner ma reconnaissance pour l'intérêt que vous avez pris dans toutes les choses qui m'intéressent, et de vous en faire mes remercîmens. L'assistance que vous m'avez donnée, dans ce premier voy-

and me an invitation to stay with them till our own domestic arrangements should be completed. We accordingly went to Canton, the 30th of August, with M. Trolliez, and other French gentlemen, and remained with them till the 6th of September, when, our factory being ready, we took possession of it, after thanking him and his friends, Messrs. Rose and Timothée, for the attention they had shown us. They assured us that they were very happy in forming an acquaintance with us, and would consider themselves much obliged for any opportunities we should afford them of being useful to us. M. Desmoulins, to whom we had a letter from Mr. Mallet, of Philadelphia, was very friendly to us on all occasions, and assisted us particularly in procuring a factory and getting ourselves settled.

On the day of our arrival, we were visited by the principal Chinese merchants, and by the chiefs and gentlemen of the Danish and Dutch factories; the next day, by several English gentlemen; and the morning following, by the chief (Mr. Pigou) and six gentlemen of the

---

age qui a été entrepris par les enfans de l'Amérique, et la politesse avec laquelle vous et vos messieurs ont démontré leur amitié et bonne volonté envers moi et aux miens, ne seront jamais effacées. C'est un bonheur pour nous que, dans une traversée aussi longue qu'a été la nôtre, nous ayons rencontré les amis de notre pays; et que dans une région aussi éloignée, les premiers et les seuls bienfaits que nous ayons reçus ont été accordés par ceux dont la nation a été le soutien et l'ami magnanime de la nôtre. Que cette alliance entre les deux nations, si bien commencée, et cimentée par plusieurs bons offices de la part de la vôtre, soit perpétuelle, et que vous et tous vos messieurs soient toujours bien heureux, c'est ce qui est sincèrement souhaité par,

"Mon cher monsieur,
"Votre très-obligé
et très-obéissant serviteur,
"J. Green."

English factory. They apologized for deferring their visit till then, on account of their house having been entertained the day before by one of the Chinese merchants, at his residence, on the opposite side of the river.

We returned these visits in the order they had been made, and received invitations from the chiefs of the several factories, who, each in rotation, gave us a national dinner and supper, and desired we would call upon them in future without ceremony. On leaving the English factory, Mr. Pigou, after thanking us for our company, expressed himself nearly in these terms: — "This, gentlemen, has been a day of ceremony. We shall be glad, if you will call upon us often, in a social way, — and if we can be of any service to you, it will afford us a real pleasure." Mr. Roebuck, the second in the factory, would not part with us so soon; but, though past eleven, insisted we should adjourn to his room, where, with several gentlemen of the factory and officers of their ships, we passed a couple of hours very agreeably.

After being settled in our factory, we occasionally returned the national dinner and supper to the Europeans, respectively, beginning with the French. To the Swedes and Imperialists, who arrived after us at Canton, and showed us the same civilities as the others had done, we made the like return.

In a country where the jealousy of the government confines all intercourse between its subjects and the foreigners who visit it to very narrow limits, in the suburbs of a single city, the opportunities of gaining information respecting its constitution, or the manners and customs generally of its inhabitants, can neither be frequent nor extensive. Therefore, the few observations to be made at Canton cannot furnish us with sufficient data from which to form an accurate judgment upon either of these points. The accounts given in the writings of the missionaries are enveloped in much mystery, and, in many instances, border not a little upon the marvellous. All we know with certainty respecting the empire of China is, that it has long existed a striking evidence of the wisdom of its government, and still continues the admiration of the world.

The following remarks relate only to the manner in which the commerce of the European nations and Americans with this singular people is conducted, and contain a few scattering particulars, which somewhat less than a four months' residence enabled the writer of them to collect.

To begin with commerce, — which here appears to be as little embarrassed, and is, perhaps, as simple, as any in the known world. The Danes, Imperialists, Swedes, English, and Dutch, have regular establishments, and trade by companies. The French have no company. Last year, their king made an expedition on his own account, and this year he lent his ships to the merchants. The Spanish trade by private supercargoes from South America, by the way of Manila. They had last year four ships, but have none this. The Portuguese, although they are in possession of Macao, do not, in the manner of other nations, keep a public establishment for this trade, but carry it on by agents sent from Europe, who also return in the ships. As the business is, by particular indulgence, transacted at Macao, a considerable saving thence accrues on the duties which other nations are obliged to pay.

The English ships bring out from Europe lead and large quantities of cloth; which latter the company are obliged by their charter to export annually to China, for the encouragement of their home woollen manufacture. Some of their ships go first to the peninsula of India, part of their cargoes consisting of supplies for the company's establishments, and such other commodities as will answer the markets in that quarter. After having disposed of these, they take on board cotton, with which, their lead, and cloth, they proceed to China. The English derive considerable advantages from the permission granted to private ships, owned by their subjects in India, to trade with China. These vessels, besides the cotton, sandal-wood, putchock-root, ebony, opium, shark-fins, and birdsnests they bring from the coast, carry on a smuggling trade with the Dutch settlements in and about Malacca, and with the natives, whom they supply with opium, clothing, fire-arms, &c., in return for which they receive pepper, block-tin, and spices. The proceeds of these, with the silver and other articles they bring from India, are, to the amount of about one third, carried back in such merchandise as will suit the India markets; and the remainder, either in cash or transfers from the Chinese merchants, is paid into the company's treasury, for which they receive bills on the company in England, at the exchange of five shillings and sixpence sterling the dollar, payable three hundred and sixty-five days after sight. This fund has for a number of years rendered it unnecessary for the company to export from Europe any specie for carrying on their commerce with the Chinese.

The Dutch, by their resources from their settlements on Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and other possessions in India, are enabled to manage their trade with China under equal, if not superior, advantages to any other people.

The other companies depend principally upon their lead and silver brought from Europe; though sometimes the English captains from the coasts of India furnish them with the latter, in return for which they take bills. This exchange is forbidden by the English company, and any person detected in it forfeits his privilege, and may be sent prisoner to England. However, this penalty, as it is seldom if ever inflicted, is but little regarded. British subjects in India, who wish to remit their property to Europe, will find means of doing it through other channels than that of the company's treasury. They get a penny, and sometimes twopence, more on a dollar, and bills at a shorter sight. Besides, the credit of the English company is not now so good with their subjects in India as formerly. One of their captains informed me that his orders were, to offer his money first to the Swedes, afterwards to the Danes and the Dutch, and last to the English.

The French had formerly a company here, but, its affairs going behindhand, it was dissolved. Last year, as has been observed, the king sent four ships to Canton on his own account, and this year he has lent three ships of the line to a company of merchants, whose stock was divided into shares, and a certain number sold to such individuals as chose to become adventurers. The capital is six millions of livres, whereof about one half is in specie; the expense of the expedition, a quantity of woollen cloths, looking-glasses, coral, and other merchandise, employing the remainder. A consul of France, part of the former establishment, is still retained. He has a house and table found him by the king, with a salary of six thousand livres per annum. Should any disputes arise among the subjects of France, his decision, in a court of chancery, where he presides, is final, unless an appeal be made to the king and council.

The commerce of the Imperialists is drawing to a close. The German dominions are not well situated for prosecuting it. The company are very much in debt. They have no ships this year, nor will they, it is thought, have any the next. Their chief (Mr. Reid, a Scotch gentleman) informed me that he expected to receive orders to settle his accounts with the Chinese, and return to Europe.

The establishments of the Swedes and Danes are principally supported by the smuggling trade they carry on in the Channel and upon the coasts of Britain. Would the British parliament repeal the acts laying a duty on teas, the prosecution of this commerce would probably not be an object for either of those powers, and the trade with China would be conducted by the nations who are the greatest consumers of its produce. This is the idea of all the Europeans at Canton. Mr. Pigou told me that the annual consumption of teas in Great Britain and its dependencies amounted to fourteen million pounds' weight, while the company's sales did not exceed six. "Would our legislature," said he, "but commute the duty on teas for some other tax, there would be no inducement to smuggling; nor would the Swedes, Danes, and French find their account in this commerce. It would then naturally fall into the hands of the consumers, who are the Dutch, yourselves, and us. We could employ twenty ships, and the trade still be sufficient for us all."

Besides the Europeans, the Armenians and Moors drive a considerable trade with China, in pearls, precious stones, and other merchandise, which they freight, in

Portuguese and English bottoms, from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the peninsula of India.

Such are the outlines of the commerce carried on by the Europeans with China. The national establishments are on a liberal footing. The supercargoes are provided with elegant factories, and every accommodation they can wish. All expenses are paid, and a commission allowed them for transacting the business, which is divided among them according to seniority. In the English factory, a young gentleman, whose father, perhaps, or other near relation, is one of the company, comes out at fourteen or fifteen years of age, as a writer, with all expenses paid and one hundred pounds sterling per annum. At the expiration of five years he commences supercargo, when his salary ceases, and he is included for part of the commission. The amount of this will depend on the number of ships. The present chief has been in the factory fourteen years, and his commission this year is reckoned at upwards of seven thousand pounds sterling. That of the second, as Mr. Roebuck himself informed me, is something more than four thousand, and the others receive in proportion. No person is allowed to hold the office of chief more than three years.

The English captains in the company's service, and all the officers, are allowed the privilege of private trade; on which account, as soon as their ships are moored at Whampoa, the captains take each his own factory at Canton. Their adventures consist chiefly of clockwork of all kinds, of which the Chinese are extremely fond, cutlery, glass, furs, dollars, and some ginseng, besides articles from the coast of India. The captain's privilege in the ship is about sixty tons measurement. This he commonly fills up with fine teas, cassia, Nankin cloths, porcelain, &c., a considerable part of which, on his entering the English Channel, is disposed of to smugglers, between whom and the custom-house officers there is always a clear understanding. The ships are built and equipped by private merchants, who charter them to the company at a certain tonnage. They are generally from six to eight hundred tons, and no ship, in common cases, is suffered to perform more than four voyages. A captain must have great interest to get one of these ships, or pay from five to seven thousand pounds for the command. In this case, he may sell again, and, if he should die during the voyage, the privilege is filled up for the benefit of his heirs or assigns. The latter part of this arrangement extends to the subordinate officers. The country captains also take factories at Canton, and for privilege make the best bargain they can with their employers.

Other nations, instead of privilege of private trade to their officers, allow gratuity money, to each according to his rank. And as the ships are the property of the company, every captain has an apartment in the factory, and a place at the table, where there is also a plate and accommodation for any other officer who may come to Canton.

No Europeans are suffered to remain at Canton throughout the year. After their ships are gone, and they have settled their accounts with the Chinese, they repair to Macao, where each nation has its separate establishment. There they continue till the arrival of their ships the next season, when they return to Canton.

As soon as a ship, whether public or private, arrives at Whampoa, a *fiador*, or surety, must be engaged, before she can discharge any part of her cargo. This person is one of the principal merchants, and generally the one with whom the business is transacted, though this circumstance does not prevent dealing with others. He is answerable to the custom-house for payment of the emperor's customs of entrance, which, on an average, amount to somewhat more than four thousand dollars a ship. Besides this tax, there are duties on every article, whether of import or export, imported specie excepted; but with these there is no trouble, it being understood in all bargains with the Chinese, whether buying or selling, that they pay them.

The trade on the part of the Chinese is conducted by a set of merchants who style themselves the *co-hoang*, a word expressing our idea of a trading company. This co-hoang consists of ten or twelve merchants, who have the exclusive privilege of the European and country trade, for which they pay a considerable sum to government; and no other dealers, if we except the petty shopkeepers, who are also licensed by government, can be concerned in it but by their permission. The co-hoang assemble as often as is necessary, communicate the information each has obtained respecting the commodities at market, agree on the prices at which they will purchase, and fix those of their own goods in return. When it happens that a ship has but a small cargo, an individual of the co-hoang is unwilling to be its fiador, as perhaps his profits will not pay the duties. In this case, a fiador is nominated in the co-hoang, and the vessel's business done on their joint account. There is generally no material variation from the prices fixed by the co-hoang.

Each ship and factory must also have a *comprador;* this is a person who furnishes provisions and other necessaries, for which he contracts at certain prices. There is much imposition in these articles, and if the ship is small, the comprador, besides being paid for all supplies, will have a douceur of a hundred or a hundred and fifty taels.* This must be submitted to, as the government derives a stated revenue from every ship, of whatever size, which the comprador has permission to supply.

All company ships, on coming to Whampoa, have each a banksall on shore, for the reception of their water-casks, spars, sails, and all the lumber of the ship, and containing, besides, apartments for the sick. The French have theirs, separate from the other Europeans, on an island, thence called French island; the others are on the opposite side, and confined to the ground they occupy, — for the remainder being rice-fields, and constantly watered, renders it impossible to go beyond the limits of the banksall; whereas French island is a delightful situation, and the resort of the gentlemen generally, of all nations, who go on and off at pleasure. Except those of the French and Americans, no common sailors are allowed to go there. For the exclusive privilege of this island, every French ship adds one hundred taels extra to the *hoppo's*† present. The banksalls are large buildings, framed with bamboo reeds, and covered with mats and straw. They are erected by the Chinese, who pull them down immediately on their being left, in order that they may have the advantage of setting up new ones. The price of a banksall is about two hundred dollars. As our ship was small, the French gentlemen advised us not to have a banksall, and offered us as much room in theirs as we should want. The Chinese mandarins,* of whom there are four on the island, before they would permit us quietly to send any thing ashore, demanded a douceur to the amount of the price of a banksall, — alleging that it was the same thing to them, whether we had one of our own, or made use of another. After altercating with them for several days, till our ship's provisions were stopped, I found it necessary to compromise for thirty dollars a month.

---

* The Chinese arithmetic is altogether decimal.

In money : — 10 cashes = 1 candareen ;
10 cand. = 1 maz ;
10 mazes = 1 tael.

An old Mexican dollar is taken at its weight, 7 maz. 2 cand. New dollars add two to every hundred in all contracts, and pass at 7 m. 2 c.

Weights. 1 catty = 21⅓ oz.
100 catties, or a picul, = 133⅓ lbs., } Avoirdupois.
Measures. 10 punts, or 1 covid, = 14⅝ inches.

† Chief officer of the customs.

Besides a fiador and comprador, each ship must also have a linguist, at an expense of about a hundred and twenty taels. This person is absolutely necessary, as he is employed in transacting all business with the custom-house, — which is in the city, where no stranger can be admitted, — provides *sampans* † for unloading and loading, and is always at call.

When the hoppo goes to measure the shipping at Whampoa, which he does as often as there are three or four that have not been visited, he is attended by the co-hoang. On these occasions, the captains produce their clock-work and other curiosities, of which the hoppo lays by such as he likes, and the fiador for the ship is obliged to send them to him. Some time after, the hoppo demands the price, — for he will not receive them as a present. The merchant, who understands matters perfectly, tells him about one twentieth part, or less, of their value, and takes the money. On our ship being measured, the hoppo inquired if we had any *sing-songs*, — the name they give to this sort of articles, — and, on being answered in the negative, seemed rather displeased. However, when we told him that we were from a new country, for the first time, and did not know that it was customary to bring such things, he appeared satisfied, but did not forget to enjoin it upon us to bring some when we should come again.*

---

* A name common to officers of every rank, whether civil or military.

† Boats.

As soon as the ship is measured, the fiador takes out a permit for unloading, and the linguist provides two sampans to receive the goods, which are hoisted out of the ships in presence of two mandarins, who live in their sampan alongside. When the goods arrive at Canton, one of the principal mandarins, with his assistants, attends to weigh, measure, and take account of every thing, after which liberty is granted to sell. Such articles as the fiador or the co-hoang do not want may be disposed of to any other person, from whom the linguist receives the duty, and settles with the fiador. When the return cargo is to be sent on board, the mandarins attend, as before, and each package must have the seller's *chop* † upon it, in order that the linguist may know where to apply for the duty; otherwise, the purchaser is himself obliged to pay it. No fees are paid to these officers, either by the buyer or seller, their salaries being fixed by the emperor. The expense of unloading is paid by the Europeans, and the Chinese deliver the return cargo alongside the ship, free of all duties and charges whatever. All merchandise must be unloaded and loaded by Chinese sampans.

---

* Extract from the ship's log-book, Thursday, 14th September: —

"At 10, A. M., came on board the grand mandarin, with his attendants, and the principal merchants of Canton, to measure the ship. Saluted them with nine guns. At 11, they left the ship, in order to visit and measure the other ships, — after which we saluted them with nine guns, as did the other ships.

"P. M. — The grand mandarin sent on board, as a present to the ship, two bulls, eight bags of flour, and seven jars of country wine."

† *Chop* is a word of most extensive use. Here it means *mark*. Sometimes it is taken for the duty itself, *to pay the chop;* at other

In the customs of Canton, as of other parts of the world, instances of knavery sometimes occur. The duty on silks may be compromised with the mandarin, who will accept a present of about half the amount of the duty for letting them go free. In these cases, the ship's boat, carrying the flag of its nation, attends at the time appointed, and takes in the goods, for which the mandarin's chop is produced, and the boat passes without further examination. All boats are searched, on coming to or going from Canton, and must have a chop; besides which, they must, unless carrying the national flag, stop and be searched at three different chop-houses on the river.

The factories at Canton, occupying less than a quarter of a mile in front, are situated on the bank of the river. The quay is enclosed by a rail-fence, which has stairs and a gate opening from the water to each factory, where all merchandise is received and sent away. The limits of the Europeans are extremely confined; there being, besides the quay, only a few streets in the suburbs, occupied by the trading people, which they are allowed to frequent. Europeans, after a dozen years' resi-

---

times it signifies *a permit;* and *chop-chop!* in speaking to any one, means *make haste!*

dence, have not seen more than what the first month presented to view. They are sometimes invited to dine with the Chinese merchants, who have houses and gardens on the opposite side of the river; but even then no new information is obtained. Every thing of a domestic concern is strictly concealed, and, though their wives, mistresses, and daughters are commonly there, none of them are ever visible. We dined with four of the co-hoang, at separate times, two of whom entertained the French gentlemen and us at their country-houses. On these occasions, the guests generally contribute largely to the bill of fare. Both at Chowqua's and Pankekoa's, the French supplied the table furniture, wine, and a large portion of the victuals. The gardens belonging to Chowqua are extensive; much art and labor are used to give them a rural appearance, and in some instances nature is not badly imitated. Forests, artificial rocks, mountains, and cascades, are judiciously executed, and have a pleasing effect in diversifying the scene. The Chinese, however, discover a vitiated taste in their fondness for water. Every garden must have abundance of this element, and where it does not flow naturally, large, stagnant ponds, in the middle of which are summer-houses, supply the deficiency. Chowqua says that his house and gardens cost him upwards of one hundred thousand taels.

The Europeans at Canton do not associate together so freely as might be expected, — the gentlemen of the respective factories keeping much by themselves, and, excepting in a few instances, observing a very ceremonious and reserved behaviour. At the Danish factory, there is, every Sunday evening, a concert of instrumental music, by gentlemen of the several nations, which every body who pleases may attend. This is the only occasion when there appears to be any thing like a general intercourse. On the whole, the situation of the Europeans is not enviable ; and, considering the length of time they reside in this country, the restrictions to which they must submit, the great distance they are at from their connections, the want of society, and of almost every amusement, it must be allowed that they dearly earn their money.

When any European dies at Canton, the chief of the nation to which he belonged sends and acquaints the different factories with the event. The flags are dropped, and remain at half-mast till the corpse is sent off to Whampoa, when they are hoisted up ; the friends of the deceased, in the meanwhile, receiving visits of condolence from the other Europeans. The ships observe the same ceremony, and when the corpse appears in sight, the commodore of the nation to which it belongs begins to fire minute-guns, which are repeated by the other ships in port, and continued till the corpse is interred, on French island, when the flags are again hoisted as usual. Next day, the chief, with one or two gentlemen of his nation, returns the visits of the other Europeans, and thanks them for their attention on the occasion.

About ten days previous to our leaving Canton, Mr. Randall and I visited the respective chiefs (a ceremony not to be omitted), thanked them for their civilities, and informed them of our intended departure. Invitations from every nation followed, and we were obliged to receive from each another public dinner and supper, the consul of France insisting also upon paying us this honor in his separate right. The attention paid us at all times by the Europeans, both in a national and personal respect, has been highly flattering. From the French it was peculiarly friendly. They aided us in mooring our ship, insisted on our making ourselves at home in their factory, and accommodated us with part of their bank-sall, for the use of which they would not suffer us to make them any remuneration. "If," said they, "we have in any instance been serviceable to you, we are happy, — and we desire nothing more than further opportunities to convince you of our affection."

The Swedes, the Danes, the Dutch, and the Imperialists paid us every proper attention; nor were the English behindhand with them. Besides the gentlemen of the factory, many of their captains visited us, gave invitations, and accepted ours in return. During this intercourse, it was not difficult to discover their jealousy of the French; nor could they conceal their dislike of the good understanding we kept up with them, which would sometimes appear, in spite of their breeding. One evening, in particular, at the English factory, after the company had risen from table, the chief asked us if we could not take a sociable bottle together. This was a proposition to which we were not disposed to object, as he had always been particularly civil to us. In the course of our *tête-à-tête*, after professing much regard for us, and hoping that our nation and theirs would ever maintain a friendly correspondence, he observed, that there had been a small mistake in the *mode* of our reception, with respect to which he wished to set us right. "As soon as it was known," said he, "that your ship was arrived, we determined to show you every national attention; and when, in company with the French gentlemen, you returned our visit, it was our intention that *you* should dine with us the next day, and the

French the day after. We were, therefore, not a little disappointed at your coming together, and you may remember we then told you there had been a mistake on your part, for which we were exceedingly sorry; for, trust me, gentlemen," added he, with a smile, "that *we* would not designedly have put you in such company."

Exclusive of the country ships returning to India, there sailed last year from Canton and Macao forty-five ships for Europe, sixteen of which were English. The present season the numbers were as follows (Dec. 27): —

English, 9,[*] — French, 4,[†] — Dutch, 5, Danish, 3, — Portuguese, 4,	25 for Europe.
American, ...	1 for America.
English country ships, 8,[‡] . . Danish snow, 1, ...	9
In all,	35

---

[*] Sulivan,	Captain	Williams.
Calcutta,	"	Thompson.
Hawke,	"	Rivington.
Ponsborne,	"	Hemmet.
Middlesex,	"	Rogers.
Contractor,	"	McIntosh.
Foulis,	"	Blatchford.
Latham,	"	Robertson.
Nassau,	"	Gore.

[†] Triton,	Captain,	M. D'Ordelin,	64	armed *en flute.*
Provence,	"	M. Mancel,	64	
Sagittaire,	"	M. Morin,	50	
Pondicherry,	"	M. Beaulieu, chartered at the Isle of France.		

[‡] Biram Gore,	Captain	Maughan.
Bellona,	"	Jas. Richardson.
Pallas,	"	O'Donnell.
General Elliot,	"	McClew.
Le Neckar,	"	Woolmore.
Triumph,	"	Wm. Richardson.
Lady Hughes,	"	Williams.
Nonsuch,	"	Stevenson.

The Swedes lost their passage; and the Imperialists and Spaniards, as has been remarked, had no ships here.

Ours being the first American ship that had ever visited China, it was some time before the Chinese could fully comprehend the distinction between Englishmen and us. They styled us the *New People*, and when, by the map, we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were not a little pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire.

The knavery of the Chinese, particularly those of the trading class, has become proverbial. There is, however, no general rule without exceptions; and though it is allowed that the small dealers, almost universally, are rogues, and require to be narrowly watched, it must at the same time be admitted that the merchants of the co-hoang are as respectable a set of men as are commonly found in other parts of the world. It was with them, principally, that we transacted our business. They are intelligent, exact accountants, punctual to their engagements, and, though not the worse for being well looked after, value themselves much upon maintaining a fair character. The concurrent testimony of all the Europeans justifies this remark.

Notwithstanding the encomiums which are generally bestowed on the excellence of the Chinese government, it may, perhaps, be questioned, whether there is a more oppressive one to be found in any civilized nation upon earth. All offices in the provinces are bestowed upon such as can make most interest for them with the great mandarins at court, in consequence of which the subject undergoes every species of oppression. He is squeezed by the petty mandarins, — these, again, by the higher,

— they, in their turn, by their superiors, the governors and viceroys, — and these last are sometimes, themselves, under pretence of maladministration, stripped of every thing by the emperor, and doomed to end their days in banishment in Siberia. Two instances, which came to my knowledge, may serve to convey some idea of the despotic nature of the government.

A few years since, Shykinkoa, one of the most respectable merchants of the co-hoang, having failed in an engagement to send some teas to the English ships, assigned as a reason for it, that he had been disappointed of seeing the hoppo, who, he said, was drunk when he called at his house to take out the chop. Shortly after, another of the co-hoang coming to the English factory, the chief casually mentioned the disappointment, and the reason given for it by Shykinkoa. This man, who was Shykinkoa's enemy, reported the matter to the hoppo, and Shykinkoa was forced to make his peace by a present of thirty thousand taels! This account I had from Mr. Pigou. Such has been Shykinkoa's dread of all hoppos, ever since, that he never dares make application to them personally, and submits to the payment of an annual sum for an exemption from attending the hoppo with the other merchants, when he measures the shipping.

The other instance is that of our comprador. Every Chinese, excepting the co-hoang and persons in office, is obliged to have a chop for visiting the factories, which is renewed every month, and for which servants, and even *coolies*,* hired at three dollars a month, must pay half a dollar. Our comprador was met one day by the second officer of the customs, who demanded to see his chop. He had left it at home, and, on being questioned, answered that he was such a man's purser; well knowing, that, should he own himself a comprador, the officer would extort money from him. Unluckily, one of the merchant's people, known to the officer, was passing at the instant. The poor comprador was detected, and immediately sent to prison in the city, where he remained a week, with a board, like the yoke of a pillory, fastened about his neck. He offered a thousand dollars for his release, which the officer refused; and there is no knowing what would have been the price of his liberty, had not accident procured it by other means.

---

* Porters.

The Europeans, as has been noticed, are exceedingly straitened in their limits, and the Chinese let slip no opportunities of laying new impositions. The mandarins on the quay are very vigilant, and every servant in the factories is a spy. A house had been lately set up on that part of the quay where the strangers commonly walk, and was intended for the residence of another mandarin, who would be an additional spy. This, with several other matters considered grievances, induced the Europeans to join in an application to the hoppo, the next time he visited the shipping. A deputation from every nation, in which I was desired to represent ours, met the hoppo, on board an English ship, and he promised redress. The house was shortly after pulled down, the comprador, whose case was particularly mentioned, released, and most of the causes of complaint removed. Though applications have been repeatedly made, this was the only instance in which the Europeans ever acted in concert. The comprador went round to all the gentlemen, and thanked them for their good offices in his favor; but, though the hoppo promised he should be released without expense, the poor fellow found it necessary to make a present to the officer who had confined him.

In this place it may not be improper to take notice of an event that gave rise to the Canton war, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences.

On Saturday, the 27th of November, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a general alarm was spread among the foreigners at Canton, in consequence of the Chinese having seized on the person of Mr. Smith, supercargo of the British country ship called the Lady Hughes. Three days before, the captain and some gentlemen who had dined with him on board were saluted by the ship, on taking leave; in doing which, unfortunately, one of the Chinese in the mandarin's sampan alongside was killed, and two others were wounded. By the Chinese law, blood must answer for blood, and there have been instances where the execution of this law has been enforced. About four years since, a Frenchman and a Portuguese, both belonging to the same ship, had a scuffle, in which the latter was killed; whereupon the Chinese demanded that the former should be given up. On being told that what the man had done was agreeable to the law of self-defence, they replied that they understood the matter very well, but that they must examine him before their tribunal, it being indispensable that they should take cognizance of such cases, and that after examination he should be restored unhurt. The poor fellow, upon these assurances, was delivered to the Chinese, who the next morning brought him to the waterside, in the neighbourhood of the factories, and there strangled him.

The recollection of this affair was fresh in the mind of every one, and the English chief on this occasion refused to comply with the demand of the Chinese; not only as it was an accident, and the gunner innocent, but as he had no authority over country ships, they not being under the jurisdiction of the company's servants in China. After two days spent in debating the affair, the Chinese merchants and mandarins told Mr. Pigou that they were satisfied, and that, as the gunner had absconded, there would be no further trouble about it. Every one thought the matter finished, till experience once more convinced them that there is no trusting the Chinese. Pankekoa, the head of the co-hoang, sent for Mr. Smith, as it were on business, to come to his house, where he was immediately seized by a guard and conveyed into the city. As soon as this transaction was known, all business was stopped, the Chinese merchants retired within the city, and the Europeans assembled in order to consult as to the measures to be taken. It was judged expedient that a boat should be ordered from every ship, with an armed force, for the protection of the persons and property of the respective nations, until the matter should be settled. In the mean time, the compradors, Chinese servants, and others, left the factories, and several of the emperor's ships of war were drawn up opposite, in a hostile manner. About seven in the evening, the boats arrived, one of them having been fired upon by the Chinese, for passing their fort after sunset, by which a man was wounded. On the arrival of the boats, the sailors were kept within the factories, and their arms taken in charge by their officers, while the Europeans unanimously agreed to make it a common cause, and as such to support it. On the commencement of this business, application was made to the Americans, and our boat accordingly attended. A letter was sent into the city, explaining the circumstances of the affair, declaring Mr. Smith's innocence, and the impossibility of giving up the gunner. Guards were placed for the preservation of good order, and the night passed quietly.

The next morning our compradors returned and supplied the factories as usual. A man was taken up the preceding night, detected in ordering all the Chinese to leave the factories. On examination, he proved to be a petty officer of the police, and had a chop, which he was directed to deliver to the English chief, and which, being translated, was to this effect: — "That the *Fuen*, exercising the functions of viceroy in the province of Canton, had given orders for the seizure of Mr. Smith, but that he should be released on the gunner being given up, — that he was much displeased at the measure of the armed boats, — that the Europeans should consider well what they were about, — and that he had ordered the whole force of the province to be in readiness, to reduce them to submission in case of resistance, as he was determined to prevent the laws of the empire from being infringed."

About two o'clock, M. Vieillard, the French consul, came and informed me that he had, with M. Galbert, the king's interpreter, been with a mandarin at the pagoda,* who informed him that chops would be granted to such of the strangers as would apply for them, the English excepted, to send back their boats whenever they pleased; and that, as the Danes, French, and Dutch were determined not to make war for the English, he advised me to apply for one and send away our boat immediately. After thanking him for his advice, I answered, that I considered the rights of humanity deeply interested in the present business, to support which I had, at the request of the English chief, ordered the American boat to Canton; — that when the English chief assured me that the purposes for which she had been required were answered, I would send her back, and not till then.

---

* Temple, or place of public worship.

Towards evening, two mandarins, attended by linguists, came out and requested that a representative from each nation, the English excepted, should meet the Fuen, who was then in his tribunal ready to receive us. After communicating with the English gentlemen, it was agreed that we should represent to the Fuen, that the seizing of Mr. Smith was considered, not as a matter affecting the English only, but as nearly concerning every foreign trader in Canton, whose property or person could now no longer be considered secure. On coming before the Fuen, who held his tribunal at a pagoda in a part of the suburbs not frequented by the Europeans, we were received by a mandarin of war, who led us through two ranks of soldiers armed with long scymitars, and, presenting himself on his knee, announced us. The Fuen said that he regarded it as a mark of our good disposition that we came to him, and that we need be under no apprehension for Mr. Smith, who should not receive any injury, but be restored on the gunner being given up. On being told that the gunner had absconded, he answered, "No matter, he must be produced"; and when M. Galbert attempted to explain the cause of the boats being ordered, and to vindicate the English, he commanded him to be silent, and declared that it was only in consideration of the other nations that the English were not on this occasion a lost people. After offering us tea, which we declined, the Fuen presented each gentleman with two pieces of silk, in token of amity, and then dismissed us.

During the transactions thus far, I am sorry to observe that there had been no regular plan adopted by the different nations, and scarcely any consistency in their measures. It is true, there had been several councils, where the gentlemen said they considered it a common cause, but no minutes were taken of their proceedings, and their zeal seemed to be not a little abated. The Chinese were aware, that, if they could separate the other nations from the English, there would soon be an end of the affair; and it was doubtless with this view that the offers had been made to M. Vieillard, and an attendance on the Fuen demanded. In the meeting at the English house, previous to the last step, it was under this conviction that I ventured to propose that minutes should then be taken, and every gentleman asked, in behalf of his nation, whether it was to be considered a common cause, and how far they would unite for its support. No person opposed the proposition, — nothing was determined, — and we went to the Fuen.

Matters remained quiet all the next day, though the ships of war, in number upwards of forty, lay opposite the factories. Indeed, these ships were not very formidable, their force consisting of two long iron pieces, carrying about a four-ounce ball, and fixed with a swivel on a four-legged stool, — while their soldiers were armed with swords, bows and arrows, and match-lock muskets, fixed with a triangle. From all I could observe of this naval parade of the Chinese, I am certain that three European long-boats, properly equipped, might have forced their way through them, had they been five times as numerous.

In the course of the day, two boats from the French, one from the Danes, and another from the Dutch, went down the river, under protection of a Chinese, standing in the bow and holding up a small red flag. Besides these, one from the English was sent down in the same manner, with a letter from Mr. Smith, demanding the gunner. The mandarin of war, who presented us to the Fuen, brought out two pieces of silk for each of the gentlemen who attended and were not introduced, as the Fuen would suffer only six to be admitted then, but desired that all who had attended would receive those presents.

On the 30th, in the morning, Messrs. Browne, Lane, Lance, and Fitzhugh called to inform me of a report having been spread that they had sent a boat to Whampoa without consulting the other nations, in consequence of which they were come, as a committee from the English, to explain that and every other transaction which had taken place. A letter from Mr. Smith had been sent, by order of the mandarins, to Captain Williams, demanding the gunner; but the linguist intrusted with it was so much frightened at the sight of the ships with their guns out of their ports, that he returned without delivering it. On this being known, the Chinese gave a chop for an English boat to carry the linguist with a letter, and Captain McIntosh was sent as security for his safe reception and return. They added, that, as the gunner was not to be found, Captain McIntosh would necessarily return without him, — that the gentlemen would then be again assembled, and desired to make a joint representation to the Fuen for leave to send their boats and people to Whampoa, and to have the trade restored.

Mr. Lance called again, at noon, to acquaint me that he had, on the part of the English, met a mandarin at the pagoda, who informed him that they did not now take so much amiss the boats having come up, as that matter had since been explained, and that they waited the return of Captain McIntosh, who they expected would bring the gunner. Mr. Lance then proposed that leave should be given for their boats to go to Whampoa, in search of the man ; and if he could not be found, or, being found, if Captain Williams would not deliver him up, the company could not help it, but must submit to such conditions as the Chinese should impose. The mandarin could not of himself grant this permission, but promised an answer in the afternoon.

Five boats from the English set out for Whampoa, about three o'clock, under protection of a Chinese flag, and at sunset Captain McIntosh returned, bringing with him the gunner, who was carried to the factory, and in a few minutes after to the pagoda, where he was delivered to the Chinese, — a representation from each nation, the English included, attending. The mandarins assured us that Mr. Smith should be restored this evening, and that the gunner should be kept in custody until the emperor's pleasure should be known, — and that, the affair being now terminated, the restrictions on the trade were removed.

In the evening, the linguist informed me that our chop for shipping off had not been issued, on account of the hoppo taking us for English, whose chops would not be issued till the next day. On inquiry, I found that Pankekoa had caused our vessel to be registered in the hoppo's books as an English country ship; immediately upon which, Mr. Randall and I drew up a memorial to the consul of France, who promised that it should be presented the next day, and that he would acquaint us in writing with the answer which should be given.*

---

* MEMORIAL TO THE FRENCH CONSUL.

"To M. Vieillard, Consul for his Most Christian Majesty, and the affairs of the French, at Canton, in China.

"Sir, —

"The undersigned, supercargoes for the American commerce in China, beg leave to acquaint you that they have undoubted reason to believe, that, through the misrepresentations of Pankekoa, they have been reported to the hoppo as being Englishmen, and the ship in which they arrived at this place as an English country ship, and consequently that they should be considered subjects of Great Britain.

"To take off from this misrepresentation, and to announce to the Chinese that we are the subjects of a free, independent, and sovereign power, is the reason of our present application. And we request, in the name of the United States of America, the allies and good friends of his Most Christian Majesty, that you will cause to be made known to the Chinese, by means of M. Galbert, the king's interpreter, that we are Americans, a free, independent, and sovereign nation, not connected with Great Britain, nor owing allegiance to her, or any other power on earth, but to the authority of the United States alone; and that we pray the Chinese to consider us in that view, and grant our passports accordingly.

"Done at Canton, in China, this 30th of November, 1784.

"S. Shaw,
Tho. Randall."

ANSWER.

"À Messieurs Shaw et Randall, Supercargues du vaisseau des États-Unis de l'Amérique.

"Les représentations contenues dans votre mémoire en date du trente Novembre, 1784, étant, Messieurs, de toute justice et équité, j'ai donné ordre à M. Galbert premier interprète du roi en langue Chinoise de l'être aux vôtres, et de représenter au gouvernement que c'est par erreur que le nommé Pankékoa fiador de votre vaisseau l'a fait inscrire sur les regîtres

The first of December, peace and commerce being restored, the English chief came and thanked us for the assistance we had given them, as did also Mr. Smith, who was released the evening before.

At noon, the gentlemen of every nation were called to attend the hoppo, at the hall of the co-hoang, when, after expressing his satisfaction at the restoration of peace and commerce, he cautioned us to preserve the strictest discipline among our sailors. On being told that troubles often arose between the Chinese and Europeans, owing to the misrepresentations of the merchants, he promised that in future a mandarin should attend once a month at the pagoda, to hear from the Europeans themselves, through their own interpreters, such matters as they had to offer, in order that any grievance of which they should have reason to complain might be redressed.

On this occasion I desired the consul of France to announce me as an *American*, which he accordingly did, by M. Galbert, the king's interpreter, and clearly pointed out the distinction between us and Englishmen. The hoppo answered, that the matter had been last night explained to him by Shykinkoa, that he perfectly under-

---

du hopou comme vaisseau Anglais de côte, que vous êtes Américain, que votre nation est reconnue comme nation indépendante, souveraine et aussi étrangère à la Grande-Bretagne que la nation Française, ou tout autre commerçante à la Chine. J'aurai soin, Messieurs, lors de l'arrivée de vos vaisseaux de les avertir de cet incident, et de leur fournir les moyens de se mettre à l'abri des inconvéniens qu'une non distinction entre la nation Américaine et la nation Anglaise peut occasioner dans ce pays, où le défaut de connaissances géographiques et une séparation entière des autres nations du globe occasionera toujours la même erreur, toutes les fois qu'une nation nouvelle entreprendra de former des liaisons de commerce avec les Chinois.

"Donné à Canton, en notre hôtel, le premier Décembre, 1784,

"VIEILLARD."

stood who we were, and that the chop for sending back our boat and two sampans with merchandise had that day been granted to *Americans*. The reason of our having been reported as a country ship belonging to the English was, that the fiador, Pankekoa, knew, that, had he told who we really were, he would have been obliged to accompany the information with a present. The same deception was successfully practised with respect to the Imperialists, and the second year they were considered as an old nation.

Our boat, with the armed men, returned the same evening to Whampoa, under the American flag, as usual, and two sampans with merchandise were sent to the ship.

Thus ended a very troublesome affair, which commenced in confusion, was carried on without order, and terminated disgracefully. Had that spirit of union among the Europeans taken place which the rights of humanity demanded, and could private interest have been for a moment sacrificed to the general good, the conclusion of the matter must have been honorable, and probably some additional privileges would have been obtained. But as it did terminate, we can only apply to it the observation of the Chinese themselves, — "Truly, all Fanquois* have much lose his face in this business."

Enough of the Chinese government. With respect to their religion, suffice it to say, that the most seemingly extravagant accounts of their idolatry and superstition which we meet with may be safely credited. No people are more the sport of religious contingencies, or put greater faith in lucky days. In passing the Joss-houses,†

---

* A contemptuous term, applied by them indiscriminately to Europeans.

† Joss is the name of their idol.

I have often stopped to see them pay their devotions. There is an image of a fat, laughing old man, sitting in a chair at the upper end of the room, before whom is erected a small altar, whereon tapers and sandal-wood are constantly kept burning. As soon as a worshipper enters, he prostrates himself before the idol, and knocks his head three times upon the ground. This done, he takes two pieces of wood that fit together in the form of a kidney, again kneels, knocks his head, holds them to Joss, and, after bowing three times for his blessing, throws them up; if they fall with both flat or both round sides up, it is good luck; but if one of each, it is unfortunate. He renews his *chin-chin** to Joss, and tries again. I have seen this repeated six or eight times, till it succeeds. He then prostrates himself again, knocks his head as before, and takes a small earthen vessel, wherein are many pieces of reed with characters marked on them; these he shakes together, and, after holding the vessel to Joss and bowing three times, draws out one of the sticks. If it be an unlucky one, he tries again; and when he is satisfied, he lights his taper and fixes it before Joss, then sets fire to a piece of paper washed with tin, presents it on the altar, bows three times, and retires. The same ceremonies are observed by the female worshippers, none of whom but the lower sort are allowed to frequent public places. Besides these Joss-houses, which are always open and much frequented, there are large pagodas or temples, where are a number of *bonzes*, or priests, who perform daily worship. In these temples are various idols, in the form of men and women, but many times larger than life, and of most terrific appearance. There is one of a woman, with many pairs of extended arms, which is intended as a symbol of Divine Goodness, that embraces all. In addition to these public places of worship, every house and sampan has its domestic deity, before whom a piece of sandal-wood is kept burning, which serves at the same time to perfume Joss and to light the worshipper's pipe, who morning and evening pays his devotions with the paper and candle.

---

* Worship.

The Chinese observe no Sabbath, but work every day in the week. They make feasts and perform certain ceremonies on full moons and other occurrences, particularly the winter solstice. Their new year commences with the new moon that falls nearest to the time when the sun is in the fifteenth degree of Aquarius, and is a very important period, — not only on account of the universal festivity, that lasts four or five days, during which no business is transacted, but as it is the day previous to which all payments must be completed. During the interval between the solstice and the new year, the creditor becomes very importunate, and if he is not satisfied, he, on the last night of the old year, repairs to the debtor's house, takes his seat, and observes the most profound silence. As soon as midnight is past, he rises, congratulates the debtor on the new year, and retires. The debtor has then *lost his face*, and no person will afterwards trust him.

The great concern of a rich Chinese is to procure a pleasant spot for a tomb, for which, provided it be to his mind, he thinks no price too great. It must be airy, shaded by trees, watered by a running stream, and situated on an eminence commanding an extensive land and water prospect. So great is their attention to these circumstances, that a Chinese, on meeting with any extraordinary misfortune, is sometimes led to suppose that it is because his father's bones do not rest comfortably. In this case, a new situation is taken and consecrated by the priests, and a tomb prepared, wherein the relics of his father, removed from their former abode, are deposited with much ceremony and expense.

Polygamy is allowed among the Chinese, and a man is pleased with his favorite wife and with his Maker in proportion to the number of sons she bears him ; no account is made of daughters. Syngchong, the principal porcelain merchant at Canton, told me one day, with much satisfaction, that his wife had brought him a third son, — and added, with an air expressive of gratitude, that Joss was very good to him. "Joss loves me," continued he, "because I make him much chin-chin."

There are many painters in Canton, but I was informed that not one of them possesses a genius for design. I wished to have something emblematic of the institution of the order of the Cincinnati executed upon a set of porcelain. My idea was to have the American Cincinnatus, under the conduct of Minerva, regarding Fame, who, having received from them the emblems of the order, was proclaiming it to the world. For this purpose I procured two separate engravings of the goddesses, an elegant figure of a military man,* and furnished the painter with a copy of the emblems, which I had in my possession. He was allowed to be the most eminent of his profession, but, after repeated trials, was unable to combine the figures with the least propriety ; though there was not one of them which singly he could not copy with the greatest exactness. I could therefore have my wishes gratified only in part. The best of his essays I preserved, as a specimen of Chinese excellence in design, and it is difficult to regard it without smiling. It is a general remark, that the Chinese, though they can imitate most of the fine arts, do not possess any large portion of original genius.

---

* The Count d'Estaing, at the taking of Grenada.

The Chinese traders are in their manners open and free. They have great command of their own temper, and watch narrowly that of others. I had sufficient information on this head, and was always upon my guard; though a person's patience is often put to severe trial, especially by the smaller traders. They will not scruple to offer one third of what is demanded for merchandise, and, though told that nothing will be abated, they will repeat the same offer every day for a week together. One of them offered me for an article less than one half the price at which I valued it, and would come day after day and make the same offer. I treated him politely every time, and adhered to my first demand, with which he finally complied. After the bargain was settled, — "You are not Englishman?" said he. "No." "But you speak English word, and when you first come, I no can tell difference; but now I understand very well. When I speak Englishman his price, he say, 'So much, — take it, — let alone.' I tell him, 'No, my friend, I give you so much.' He look at me, — 'Go to hell, you damned rascal; what! you come here, — set a price my goods?' Truly, Massa Typan,* I see very well you no hap† Englishman. All China-man very much love your country." Thus far, it may be supposed, the fellow's remarks pleased me. Justice obliges me to add his conclusion: — "All men come first time China very good gentlemen, all same you. I think two three time more you come Canton, you make all same Englishman too."

---

* Supercargo. † Have.

Mr. Randall and I having settled all our affairs, and the ship being ready to sail, we, on the 26th day of December, made our visits of leave to the chiefs and gentlemen of the respective nations, again thanked them for their attentions, and received their good wishes for our prosperity. The next day I went on board, and the day after the ship came to sail, on her return to America.

It having been understood, at the time Mr. Randall engaged to go the voyage with me, that, if any opportunity offered to his advantage when in China, he should not be obliged to return in the ship, but might remain in China, or go where he judged it most conducive to his interest, he accordingly availed himself of an opportunity which seemed to promise something advantageous to him, and did not return in the ship. In consequence of this permission, the owners had the benefit of his services, without adding any thing to the allowance they first offered to me, besides the advantage of a double security for their property; as their instructions to me were, in case of my death, directed to and binding on him.

On the 28th of December, 1784, we came to sail at Whampoa, and in passing the shipping, at four o'clock, P. M., saluted them with nine guns, which were returned by the respective commodores. On the 30th, while passing Second Bar, I went on board the Triton and took leave of M. d'Ordelin and his officers, whose politeness and attention to us on all occasions merited our sincerest acknowledgments. On the 31st, at sunset, being clear of Macao, the pilot left us.

The Dutch ship General de Klerk having sailed a day before us from Second Bar, and it having been agreed, before we left Canton, that we would keep company through the Chinese seas, we spoke the next day, and proceeded together towards North island, where we anchored at noon on Wednesday, the 19th of January, in fourteen fathoms, the island bearing from our ship N. by E. ½ E. two miles, and the Watering Place, on Sumatra, S. W. the same distance. Here we found at anchor one Dutch, two English, and two Portuguese ships, bound for Europe. The English ships, the Pons-borne and Hawke, sailed from Second Bar three days after us, and, going through the Gaspar passage, arrived at North island one day before us. Our keeping company with Captain Banks was with the view of availing ourselves of his experience, as we did not go through the Straits of Banca on our way to Canton. All the time we were with him we were constantly obliged to shorten sail, and it was no small mortification to us, on arriving at the island, to find that he was equally a stranger in those seas with ourselves, it being his first voyage to China; nor did it console us for the loss of an anchor, in weighing from Pulo Timon on the 11th of January, on which occasion he lost one too.

On coming to anchor, the captain, Mr. Swift, and I, went on board the General de Klerk, and dined with Commodore Banks and Mr. Benthem, one of the Dutch supercargoes from Canton. It is the custom of the Dutch residents to send annually a supercargo to Holland, to report to the directors the state of their affairs, and to bring back their orders. The Swedes and Danes send out supercargoes, who assist their residents at Canton and return with the ships.

After dinner, Captain Banks and Mr. Benthem went with us on board the other Dutch ship. She was called the Hoorn, commanded by Captain Terence, and bound from Batavia to Holland. The captain had his wife on board, whom he married at Batavia. Her dress was singular, and differed from any thing I had before seen. It was composed of a long, loose, calico gown, which covered her neck and reached to the floor, — the sleeves wide down to the wrist, where they buttoned close upon the hand. Under this garment was another of calico, which served as a petticoat and bodice. These articles, I believe, composed the whole of her dress, except a pair of slippers, — her feet being without stockings. Her hair, without any ornament, was put up behind with a comb. After drinking a glass of wine, and engaging the captain and his lady to dine with us the next day, he accompanied us ashore on the island of Sumatra, where we found a convenient place for wooding and watering. Again going aboard the General de Klerk, we found Captain Rivington, of the English ship Hawke, who passed the evening with us, and at ten o'clock we returned to our ship.

The next day, Captain Banks, Mr. Benthem, and another gentleman from their ship, Captain Terence, his lady, and their doctor, together with Senhores Jorge and Soarez, supercargoes of the Portuguese, dined on board. The lady was dressed as yesterday, except in finer calico, and with the addition of stockings and shoes. She appeared to be upwards of thirty, easy in her manners, sociable, and expressed much satisfaction at her entertainment, especially as it was on board the first American ship that had visited these seas.

After dinner, several gentlemen from the Portuguese ships visited us, among whom was one returning as a prisoner to Lisbon. Being by profession a painter, he had, in company with a clergyman, gone to China, with the view of spending his days at Peking. On his arrival at Canton, the idea of bidding adieu for ever to his country and friends operated so powerfully on his mind, that he refused to go any farther. This determination embarrassed the mandarins at Canton, who, in their despatches to the court of Peking, had mentioned both him and the clergyman. On being told that he must assign a reason for his refusal, he said, that, since his departure from Europe, his father had died, and that he had received letters from his mother, conjuring him to return and take care of her and the children. The mandarins said it was a good reason, but, as it would not be judged sufficient by the court, they would in their next despatch say he was sick, and afterwards report him dead, which would settle the matter. The clergyman, dignified with the rank of bishop in China, set out for Peking, where he must end his days, without a hope of ever seeing those friends and that country of which he had taken a final leave, — while the painter, though a prisoner, in my opinion more happy, was returning to both.

Senhor Jorge informed us that the ship on board which he was passenger was built forty-eight years ago, in Brazil, and that it was upwards of two years since she had used either of her pumps. On the passage from Europe, they tried them, but could get no water; and he observed that he had no doubt she would be a safe ship forty-eight years longer.

Having finished wooding and watering, we left North island on the 22d, and the next day anchored at Krokatoa, where we remained two days. At both of these places the Malays supply ships with fruit, yams, poultry, turtle, and sometimes with buffaloes. Leaving Krokatoa, and clearing the Straits of Sunda, we, on the 26th, at noon, had Java Head bearing east ten leagues distant.

From Java Head we proceeded towards the Cape of Good Hope. On the 4th of March, at nine, A. M., we made the land, bearing N. by E. eleven or twelve leagues. At eleven, had no ground, with one hundred and thirty fathoms of line. At noon, by observation, in 34° 35′ south latitude, and, by my reckoning, in 25° 44′ east longitude from London. Thence, keeping the coast aboard a considerable part of the time, we doubled the cape, and anchored in Table Bay on the 9th, at five, P. M., having saluted the Dutch commodore with seven guns, for which he returned a like number. We found there several ships, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, French, and American. On our coming to anchor, a gentleman from the shore came on board, who, after inquiring whence we came and where bound, the number and condition of our crew, which he took down in writing, gave the captain the rules of the port, and took leave. The captain of the Swedish ship (Peter Aferdson) visited us, and we sent our boat on board the American ship, which returned, bringing Captain Ingersoll and Doctor Leavitt, who were on shore when we cast anchor. The ship was called the Grand Turk, from Salem, owned by E. H. Derby, Esq., of that place. These gentlemen passed the evening with us; and the next morning Captain Green, the doctor, and I, went ashore, and took lodgings at the same house with them. There we remained till Sunday evening, when, having taken in water and procured the necessary refreshments, we went on board, and the next day (14th) at three, P. M., we came to sail.

"The Cape of Good Hope," says the writer of Anson's Voyage, "is situated in a temperate climate, where the excesses of heat and cold are rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native industry, have stocked it with prodigious plenty of all sorts of fruits and provisions; most of which, either from the equality of the seasons or the peculiarity of the soil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elsewhere; so that by these, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this settlement is the best provided of any in the known world for the refreshment of seamen after long voyages."

There is no doubt but that the foregoing description is very just, though, from what we observed, there must have been great improvements since that period. The town is laid out in squares, with wide and commodious streets. Besides two churches (Lutheran and Calvinist), a state-house, library, hospitals, and other public buildings, there may be about eight hundred dwelling-houses, many of which are elegant, besides gentlemen's seats and gardens towards the country. The Dutch East India Company are proprietors of the soil, and let it out to the settlers, whom they are obliged to supply with every necessary of life, at moderate prices; for which purpose they have public magazines, and no commerce is carried on but by their permission. The governor, fiscal, and other officers, are under their orders. The company's garden is extensive, open at all times, and on Sundays is the resort of persons of every condition. There are to be seen several sorts of wild animals, particularly a hedgehog, a wild boar, baboons, antelopes, goats, rabbits, &c; also, ostriches, hawks, eagles, peacocks, owls, and other birds. The collection does not consist of so great a variety as formerly, there being at present no lions, leopards, zebras, or the like, though the skins of such beasts are to be purchased in plenty at any of the tanners' shops.

The inhabitants, most of whom are in the company's service, add considerably to their income by subsisting the Europeans, and supplying such ships as touch there for refreshments, on their way to India. The bay is protected by lines and forts, to which great additions have been made since Governor Johnstone's visit, during the war, to Saldanha bay, where he took five sail of their Indiamen. The garrison is amply furnished with ordnance and every military apparatus, and consists of about a thousand Dutch, and as many Swiss troops, hired by the republic. These make a good appearance, and with the inhabitants, who are all enrolled as militia, would, in case of an invasion, form a very respectable force. They are subject to the governor, as commander-in-chief, who is himself a colonel in the Dutch service On going ashore, Captain Green and I made him a visit of ceremony. He spoke French and English, appeared to be well informed, as well respecting America as Europe, and politely proffered us his assistance in any matters where we might find occasion for it.

Perhaps at no place in the world do ships more easily obtain fresh water. There is a large wooden pier, where the boats come and take in that valuable element, which is conveyed through pipes from the town, and by means of hose into the casks, without removing them from the boats. Ships may be watered either by their own boats, or by boats hired of the company, which are always in readiness.

Back of the town is the Table mountain, and other high grounds. From Table mountain is an extensive view of the neighbouring country, bays, and inlets. To gratify our curiosity, Doctor Leavitt, Mr. Green, and I, the day after our arrival, ascended this mountain. When we set out it was perfectly clear, — in a short time it was clouded over, and again clear. After three hours and a half of hard travelling we gained its summit, when, to our great mortification, we were entirely disappointed of our object. The top of the mountain remained enveloped in clouds, the fog thickened, — it began to rain, and we returned through a continual shower. Just after setting out upon this jaunt, an invitation came for Captain Green and me to dine with the governor. The captain went, but my excursion to the mountain deprived me of that pleasure.

The ladies at the Cape are fond of dress, well-bred, conversable, and not uninteresting. The residence of the military among them, particularly the French and Swiss, has not a little conduced to this disposition, and has rendered the French language very familiar to most of them. At a ball given a few days before our arrival, by the governor, in honor of the Prince of Orange's birthday, there were present upwards of eighty ladies, quite in the European style. The gentlemen do not appear to equal advantage; and it is a general remark among the Europeans there, that few of the natives ever turn out good for much. To what this may be owing, or how far the observation is just, it is difficult to determine; but it seems to be corroborated by an author of no small reputation, who has critically examined human nature. In the Sketches of the History of Man, he says: — "Instances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a single instance where, in such a climate, people have retained their original vigor. Several European colonies have subsisted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries; and yet even that length of time has not familiarized them to the climate: they cannot bear heat, like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes transplanted from a country equally hot; they are far from equalling, in vigor of mind or body, the nations from which they sprung. The Spanish inhabitants of Carthagena, in South America, lose their vigor and color in a few months. Their motions are languid; and their words are pronounced in a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. The offspring of Europeans born in Batavia soon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents sufficient to bear a part in the administration. There is not an office of trust but must be filled with native Europeans. Some Portuguese, who have been for ages settled on the seacoast of Congo, retain scarce the appearance of men."

The fertility of the country about the Cape, and the provision made by the Dutch for supplying the inhabitants with every foreign commodity, render the settlement very independent of the rest of the world. Captain Ingersoll's object was to sell rum, cheese, salt provisions, chocolate, loaf-sugar, butter, &c., the proceeds of which in money, with a quantity of ginseng, and some cash brought with him, he intended to invest in Bohea tea. But as the ships bound to Europe are not allowed to break bulk by the way, he was disappointed in his expectation of purchasing that article, and sold his ginseng for two thirds of a Spanish dollar a pound, which is twenty per cent. better than the silver money of the Cape. He intended remaining a short time to purchase fine teas, in the private trade allowed the officers on board India ships, and then sail to the coast of Guinea, to dispose of his rum, &c., for ivory and gold dust; thence, without taking a single slave, proceed to the West Indies and purchase sugar and cotton, with which he should return to Salem. Notwithstanding the disappointment in the principal object of the voyage, and the consequent determination to go to the coast of Guinea, his resolution not to endeavour to retrieve it by purchasing slaves did the captain great honor, and reflected equal credit upon his owner, who, he assured me, would rather sink the whole capital employed, than, directly or indirectly, be concerned in so infamous a traffic.

Besides the American vessel, there were eighteen others in the bay, under French, Danish, and Dutch colors; the latter from Batavia, waiting for their China ships to sail in company with them to Europe; the others from the coast of India. The day before we left the Cape, a sloop of war arrived from England, in eleven weeks, bound to Madras.

How precarious is all earthly happiness! and how liable are we to be disappointed, even in our fondest and most virtuous expectations! The American papers brought by Captain Ingersoll announced to me the death of the best of fathers, and destroyed the pleasing hope I had entertained of meeting that dear relation, and cheering his declining age with the society of a beloved son.

Leaving the Cape of Good Hope, on the 14th of March, we proceeded towards America, without any extraordinary occurrence, — excepting the death of our carpenter, John Morgan,* whose body was committed to the deep at noon, the 15th of April, in latitude 5° 2′ north, and 27° 23′ west longitude from London, — till the 25th of April, at daybreak, when we unexpectedly saw the land, being the island of St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies. At ten, the same day, we spoke the brig Rebecca, John Carson, from Baltimore, bound to St. Eustatia. At noon, made the island of St. Martin, S. W. ½ W. distant six leagues. This island lies in 18° 5′ north latitude, and 62° 30′ west longitude from London. Our observation that day was 18° 8′ north latitude, and my reckoning 52° 49′ west longitude, which will account for the expression "unexpectedly," on making the land, especially as it was equally unexpected to every body on board. The captain, the day before only, having asked me my longitude, expressed surprise at my being so far to the westward, as my reckoning was ahead of every other in the ship, and jocosely accounted for it by my hurry to get home. We were at a loss how to account for the difference, especially as we were all equally in a "hurry to get home," and had accordingly made our allowances westerly. A discovery, on the 27th, helped to solve the difficulty ; our glass, which should run fourteen seconds, was found to be only twelve and a half, and the twenty-eight but little more than twenty-five. A new glass was adjusted to fourteen seconds, and the knot of our logline to forty-five feet. Taking a fresh departure from St. Martin's, we shaped our course for New York, and on the 10th of May, at six, P. M., saw the Neversink. During that night we stood off and on, and at nine the next morning got a pilot on board, who at noon brought us to anchor in the East river at New York, when we saluted the city with thirteen guns, and finished our voyage.

---

* This was the only person that died during the voyage.

Number of Miles sailed during the Voyage, by the Log.

From Sandy Hook, 24th Feb., 1784,		From St. Jago, 27th March,		
103	122	226	217	84
120	199	91	168	96
109	157	112	70	95
185	63	97	64	54
137	69	93	49	109
193	70	42	109	117
206	51	161	119	123
211	28	195	67	98
229	31	94	112	95
217	49	148	202	91
—1710	— 839	—1259	—1177	— 962
197	67	177	189	79
200	40	159	163	43
206	97	86	182	35
207	82	125	172	55
171	98	92	136	37
156	117	82	126	25
56	145	83	118	66
30	151	94	180	44
30	142	132	148	81
58	149	124	120	70
—1311	—1088	—1154	—1534	86
140	148	102	103	70
93	137	186	98	— 691
137	118	175	125	
83	139	91	132	1653
91	137	170	138	3811
96	152	67	103	3840
124	100	114	50	3175
44	63	128	87	
— 808	99	196	141	12479
	155	198	123	to Java Head, 17th July.
	—1248	—1427	—1100	
3829	3175	3840	3811	
to the island of St. Jago, 22d March.				

In sailing through the Chinese seas, the log was not regularly thrown; we must therefore take the distance by estimation.

Java Head, according to Moore, in lat. 6° 45′ S.
Canton, ... 23 7 N.

Difference, ... 29° 52′
of latitude, 1792 miles, which, on a N. N. E. course, will give 1940 miles from Java Head to Canton, or Whampoa, 28th of August.

3829
12479
1940
———
18248

From Whampoa, 28th Dec., 1784, to 26th Jan., 1785, 1940 miles.

From Java Head, 26th Jan.,

30	147	123	62	142		
93	151	85	100	80		
106	185	82	80	42		
117	187	117	80	30		
44	188	173	121	—		
33	173	143	141	294		
151	132	106	154	960		
166	120	180	107	1316		
180	86	164	42	1480		
163	111	143	73	1083		
1083	1480	1316	960		to the Cape of Good Hope, 10th March,	5133

From the Cape of Good Hope, 15th March,

106	76	72	128	179		
189	159	41	156	158		
177	164	38	177	—		
154	181	30	165	337		
148	163	23	167	1629		
162	167	56	162	549		
149	154	71	176	1403		
167	116	64	170	1511		
166	115	64	166		up with the island of St. Martin, 25th April,	5429
93	108	90	162			
1511	1403	549	1629			

From the island of St. Martin, 26th April,

156	64		
169	118		
157	60		
128	66		
119	37		
146	50		
98	—		
80	395		
169	1313		
91		to New York, 11th May,	1708
1313			14210

SECOND VOYAGE TO CANTON.

SECOND VOYAGE TO CANTON.

As ours was the first vessel from America that had ever visited China, I addressed a letter, on the 19th of May,* to the Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs, in which the material occurrences of the expedition were mentioned, — namely, our meeting with the French in the Straits of Sunda, our reception at China, and the manner in which the Chinese and the European nations who have establishments at Canton behaved towards us. This letter was laid before Congress, and that honorable body was pleased to direct the Secretary to inform me, — "That Congress feel a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China, which does so much honor to its undertakers and conductors."

The concern which fitted out our ship having been dissolved, and my friend Mr. Parker become bankrupt, and gone to Europe, I had to settle the accounts of the voyage with Gouverneur Morris and Thomas Fitzsimmons, Esquires, — the former as attorney of Robert Morris, Esq., who owned one half, and the latter, as assignee of the effects of Daniel Parker & Co., representing the other. As much time would have elapsed before all the cargo could have been sold, an estimate was made by these gentlemen of its probable proceeds, to which I agreed, and by the settlement so made, there was a clear profit of thirty thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven dollars, being upwards of twenty-five per cent. on one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, the capital employed.

---

* See Appendix, A.

Situated as I found myself on my return, by the death of my father and of my eldest brother, I relinquished the idea of pursuing the China business, and accepted the appointment of first secretary in the war-office of the United States, under the patronage of my friend General Knox, who was head of the department, — an office the duties of which would allow me sufficient time to attend to my private concerns and the settlement of my father's estate. In the mean while, Mr. Randall arrived from China, in the ship Pallas, commanded by John O'Donnell, Esq., with teas, taken at a credit on our joint account, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, first cost. In this speculation we interested Robert Morris, Esq., one half, in order that we might not be obliged to force a sale of the teas at a disadvantage ; in consequence of which, he engaged to make the remittances to Europe, agreeably to the tenor of the bonds we had entered into at Canton. Shortly after, we sold him the other half, when the holders of the bonds gave Mr. Randall and me an acquittance, and accepted Mr. Morris in our stead.

Mr. Morris, having determined to send the ship a second time to China, offered to be concerned with Mr. Randall and me again, upon a more extensive plan, which would have involved our staying at Canton several years; but, as he was pleased to think the terms we required were too high, the matter dropped, and another gentleman was employed, merely for the voyage.

Towards the close of November, proposals were made to me by Isaac Sears, Esq., and other gentlemen in New York, to take a concern with them in a voyage to Canton, and, with Mr. Sears, superintend the business. To these proposals I agreed, on condition that my friend Randall should be admitted, and the business at Canton transacted by us jointly, or, in case of a difference of opinion, by a majority. A good ship, called the Hope, was accordingly provided, nearly of the dimensions of the Empress of China, and the command given to Captain James Magee. Immediately on engaging in this business, I resigned my appointment in the war-office, and was shortly after honored by Congress with their commission of Consul at Canton, when Mr. Randall also received that of Vice-consul. A suitable cargo having been provided, we sailed from New York on the 4th of February, 1786, bound to Batavia and Canton.

Having taken our departure from Sandy Hook, we proceeded towards the Cape de Verde islands, without any remarkable occurrence, till about the last of the month, when, while at dinner, we were alarmed by the cry of Fire! and in a few minutes saw the main topmast all in a blaze. The ship was immediately brought to, and, notwithstanding every endeavour to extinguish the fire, it raged with such violence as obliged us to cut away the topmast, and thereby relieve ourselves from much anxiety, as the wind was exceedingly fresh, and consequently the ship in not a little danger. This fire was probably occasioned by the friction of the runner of the main topsail tie, and it is remarkable that the topmast, in falling, stove in, with its burning end, the arm-chest upon deck, in which were some horns filled with powder, and thence, without doing further injury, rebounded overboard.

However much we were alarmed on this occasion, we had not less reason to be so a few days after, when we discovered a sail coming towards us. On approaching each other, we were suspicious of her being an Algerine, and accordingly showed English colors. But this civility on our part did not answer the desired purpose, for no sooner had she gained our wake than she put about and stood after us with all sail. This was the 4th of March, about seven in the morning, and it was an uncomfortable reflection, that our mainmast had, two days before, been so much sprung in a gale of wind, as to render carrying sail upon it exceedingly hazardous. But it was no time to hesitate, — the main tack was got on board, and in the course of three or four hours we had the satisfaction to find that we outsailed her. The next morning, she was not in sight. In the mean time every exertion was made to fish the mast, which was scarcely secured, at sunset, when the same sail hove in sight, but, night coming on, we saw no more of her. Our observation at noon of the first day was 21° 52′ north latitude, and the reckoning between 22° and 23° west longitude from London. On the 7th of March, we saw the island of St. Anthony (one of the Cape de Verde group), from which having taken a fresh departure, we proceeded to the southward. On the 17th of April, we were again alarmed by another visiter of the same class as the former. "At three, P. M.," says our log, "saw a sail bearing S. by E. standing to the northward. At four, she came under our lee, hove about, and gave us chase, being a polacre-rigged snow, which we take to be a cruiser from her manœuvring. At six, the snow bearing W. two leagues distant." At six o'clock next morning, no sail in sight from the masthead. Our observation at noon of the 17th was 29° 48′ south latitude, reckonings on board between 15° and 16° west from London.

On the 4th of July, we anchored in the road of Batavia, having lost our ship's steward, Mr. John Hoogs, who died a few days before we made the land. Mr. Shaw and Mr. Randall went ashore the same evening, and the next morning the captain and Mr. Sears. Having transacted our business at Batavia, we left it for Canton on the 23d of the same month, — Mr. Sears and the captain being confined to their beds with a fever, which had attacked them two days before.

The city of Batavia, on the island of Java, is large, the streets wide, intersecting each other at right angles, and the houses built of brick and very commodious. The country-seats in its environs are far superior in point of elegance to any thing of the kind I have ever seen. The police is excellent, and, in short, I think the whole city in appearance exceeds any description of it which I have met with, and is a striking example of the wealth and energy of the Dutch nation. It is true, this capital of their settlements in India has cost the lives of at least a million of the innocent natives, whom we ought to suppose equally dear to the Supreme Father of all.

> "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames?"

Among many good institutions, there is one in particular which does honor to humanity. This is the establishment of the orphan colleges. I had the pleasure of viewing their procession, when the heads of the colleges attended the governor and council, to take the annual oath of fidelity. The pupils are the orphan children of the several nations residing here; and it was a most interesting sight to behold Dutch, Malay, Chinese, Moor, Armenian, and Jew, dressed on this occasion in black silk cloaks, and uniformly promoting this most excellent institution. The college for the rich orphans manage their estates and superintend their education, in the same manner as do guardians in other countries. For this expense each estate is taxed at a certain rate, the overplus of which goes towards supporting the college for poor orphans, who are also properly taken care of, and the fund is completed by voluntary contributions.

On our arrival at Batavia, we visited the governor-general, who gave us permission to trade, and, previously to our departure, entertained us at supper. During our stay, we were at one of their monthly concerts, which was performed while the gentlemen and ladies amused themselves at cards. The dress of the ladies is rather singular, though well adapted to the climate in which they live. It consists of a long chintz petticoat, a close vest, instead of stays or bodice, and a long gown, which last is generally of the finest muslin, and does not entirely conceal the neck and bosom that it covers. Its long sleeves are loose till they reach the elbow, whence they button along the arm to the wrist, with eight or ten buttons each, which among the richer sort are generally diamonds. In the arrangement of their hair, they are inexpressibly neat; without cushion, gauze, lace, or any other superstructure, it is put up with a few diamond pins, in such a manner as to give a lively idea of that *simplex munditiis* which of old was so pleasing to the elegant Horace. There is an article of their manners not less peculiar than this of their dress. Whether in private or in public, the ladies sit next to their husbands, and, on rising from table, each makes a courtesy to her good man, and gives him a kiss. During the evening, and after supper, while part of the ladies danced, the others amused themselves with chewing betel and areca. This is said to be very wholesome in hot countries, and a great preservative to the teeth and gums. It is kept in gold boxes, and a little female slave attends with a gilt, and sometimes a silver, jar, into which the lady spits as occasion requires. It were to be wished that the use of this article could be confined to the toilet, for, notwithstanding its salutary effects, it is certain that the finest mouth, when imbued with its juice, loses that charm which would otherwise render it irresistible. I have seen some of these betel equipages which must have cost at least a thousand dollars. A gentleman having, in sport, overset one of these boxes, I assisted the lady in collecting its scattered contents, for which she did me the honor to present me with a quid. The lady with whom I danced was of middle age, and not uninteresting ; but as she could speak neither English nor French, and I neither Dutch nor Malay, we could converse only in dumb show.

Batavia, being the great emporium of the Dutch in India, is a regularly fortified place, and its establishments, civil and military, are very extensive. By the latter, the citizens are not only free from all apprehensions on account of the natives, but consider themselves perfectly secure against any European force which could be brought to operate against them. The inhabitants are Dutch from Europe, Dutch and Portuguese creoles, Armenians, Jews, Moors, Malays, and Chinese, of which last it is thought there are not less than one hundred thousand. The city is reckoned unhealthy, from its situation on a flat ground, and the canals which pass through every part of it, many of which are left without water several hours in the day. Notwithstanding the insalubrity of the city, the interior situations on the island are said to be as healthy as any in India, and it is at these retirements that the more wealthy part of the inhabitants pass a large portion of their time.

One of the most charming country-seats perhaps in the world belongs to Mr. Smith, first member of the council. It is called Simplicitas, and is at the distance of fifteen English miles from Batavia. His son-in-law, Mr. Reynst, gave Mr. Randall and me, with three captains of English country ships, an invitation to pass a day there. A number of his acquaintance accompanied us with him. On alighting from our carriages at the house, we were saluted with twelve small brass field-pieces, and on entering found a most elegant breakfast awaiting us. In the yard before us was a vast variety of poultry, peacocks, crown-birds, beautiful pheasants, and other birds peculiar to India; while, on our right hand, in a spacious park, were upwards of two hundred deer, bounding and running in every direction. Our attention to this beautiful object was called off only to behold another of a different kind. This was a vast column of large fat cattle, the front of which came within full view of the place where we were sitting, and then filed off to the left, the whole passing in review, to the number of between twelve and thirteen hundred head. After these two capital objects, it can add but little to the idea of the owner's wealth to mention the horses, goats, pigs, and other animals, which were in abundance. If we were pleased with our prospect while at breakfast, we were not less so afterwards, in walking into the garden, which began upon the level, and was continued in a number of terraces, cut into the declivity of the hill, till it terminated at the bottom in a beautiful river, which ran through a lawn as extensive as the eye could take in. Besides this garden, where appeared, in their different stages, fruits, flowers, and vegetables in profusion, there were large fields of pepper, rice, and coffee. In the house was a library, a billiard-table, a harpsichord, and several other musical instruments. Our dinner was equal to the expectation which every thing we had seen induced us to form; and the first toast, after the cloth was removed, being our welcome to Simplicitas, was accompanied by a discharge of three field-pieces. We begged permission to give the second, which was prosperity to its hospitable owner, and had the same accompaniment. After such a variety of entertainment, we left this enchanting place, about six in the evening, under another discharge from the twelve field-pieces, and on our return to Batavia stopped at Mr. Hemmy's, one of our party, with whom and his lady we passed the remainder of the evening and supped; whence we returned to the hotel at eleven o'clock.

During our stay at Batavia, we were also entertained by Mr. Bynon, Secretary to the Council of Justice, at his country-seat, and by Mr. Skelliberg, in town. Unfortunately, the Shabandar, Mr. Le Clé, who is remarkable for his attention to strangers, was so much out of health as not to be able to show us any civilities of this kind; an incident which, as it regarded us, he repeatedly regretted in the most obliging terms.

All foreigners coming to Batavia are obliged to live at the hotel, which is large, elegant, and commodious, and is a public establishment; on which account, though a gentleman should obtain permission, for the benefit of his health, to reside in the environs of the city, he must pay the daily sum of one rix dollar* to the hotel. Coaches are kept by the master of the hotel, and every two gentlemen are obliged to pay the hire of one, whether they use it or not. This article is three rix dollars a day, and is at call from six in the morning till ten at night. The driver knows every house in the city, and is only to be told where he is to go. Of course, gentlemen seldom walk, and towards evening, as well as early in the morning, if they please, they ride through the environs, a circuit of about six miles. At the hotel are kept two separate ordinaries, one for strangers, and the other for gentlemen of their own nation, particularly those of the military and marine. There are also two billiard-tables, that there may be no more interference than the parties mutually wish. In short, every arrangement seems to have the convenience of strangers for its object, and the society, especially of the European Dutch, is very respectable.

Among the numerous buildings for the accommodation of its inhabitants, there is, just without the city, an observatory, which was erected at the expense of a private gentleman, on his own ground. It was, however, much out of repair, and going fast to decay; a circumstance I could not help regretting, when from its top, at the going down of the sun, I beheld the sea and land stretching as far as the eye could reach, and terminating in the most beautiful horizon imaginable.

---

* Equal to three fourths of a Spanish dollar.

Leaving Batavia on the 23d of July, we proceeded through the Gaspar passage, and anchored in the road of Macao on the 10th of August, where taking a pilot, we arrived at Whampoa on the 15th, and the same day Mr. Randall and I repaired to Canton, Mr. Sears and the captain still remaining very sick.

After passing three days at Canton, and procuring a factory, we returned to the ship, and consulted with Mr. Sears on the necessary arrangements to be made respecting our business. This done, we went back to Canton, occasionally visiting and conferring with our sick friend. In the mean time, both he and the captain were recovering slowly, and at one period he had so far got the better of his disorder as to visit Canton, and pass two days with us at the factory, — when, finding the air did not agree with him, he returned on board ship. There, at first, he continued to gain strength daily, but in a short time after he relapsed, and, a flux setting in with his fever, the disease baffled the efforts of medicine, and carried him off, on the 28th of October, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred the next day on French island, with the usual solemnities; and previous to our ship leaving Whampoa, a tomb was erected over them, and a suitable inscription placed upon it. To give his character in a few words, he was an honest man, an agreeable acquaintance, and a warm friend.

After the detail, in my former journal, of such matters as occur among the Chinese at Canton, there can be nothing to remark, in a second voyage, respecting a people whose manners and customs may be considered like the laws of the ancient Medes and Persians, which altered not. Consequently, any observations, on occasions succeeding a first visit, must be mainly confined to the foreign commerce.

In the year 1785 and the beginning of 1786, the shipping at Canton was as follows: —

English,	18	34, which returned to Europe.
Dutch,	4	
French,	1	
Spanish,	4	
Danish,	3	
Swedish,	4	

Also, [*] Portuguese, from Macao to Europe; and 1 English American, under Imperial colors, that sailed for Europe and America; besides 10 English country ships, that returned to the coast of India.

The present season, down to the 27th of January, 1787, there have been as follows: —

English,	29	Dutch,	5	45, for Europe.
French,	1	Spanish,	2	
Danish,	2	Swedish,	1	
Portuguese, from Macao,			5	

American, 5, namely, —

Sloop	Experiment,	Dean,	from	New York,
Ship	Canton,	Truxton,	"	Philadelphia,
"	Empress of China,	Green,	"	New York,
"	Hope,	Magee,	"	"
"	Grand Turk,	West,	"	Salem, to the Isle of France, thence to Canton.

English country ships, 23, from, and returning to, the coast of India.

This is the greatest number that has ever been known here in any single year, and its effects on the commerce are such as must naturally be expected. Excepting Bohea, every kind of tea is at least twenty-five per cent. higher than in the year 1784, and other exports are proportionably dear.

---

[*] A blank in the MS.

The increase of the English shipping, not only in number, but greatly in tonnage, is owing to the duty on tea having been commuted by Parliament, and the determination of the company to have a year's supply of that article beforehand, in order to prevent the smuggling trade hitherto carried on with other nations. It is generally thought that the commerce of the Danes, Swedes, and French will be materially affected by this regulation. This extraordinary demand for tea by the English has obliged them to export from England large quantities of bullion; especially as their credit with their subjects in India, and with the Chinese, has been pushed as far as it would bear. Last year, their ships depended greatly on the latter of these resources for their homeward cargoes; and the present season, no less than seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, upwards of three millions of dollars, have been received in specie by their direct ships.

The English country ships sometimes make good voyages to Batavia, carrying there muslins and all kinds of cotton piece goods, a variety of silk manufactures, and large quantities of saltpetre. In return, those that come to Canton take pepper and block-tin, and others carry sugar to the coast of Malabar, which affords a handsome freight.

With respect to the French, that nation having no India company at the conclusion of the late war, several essays have been made for conducting its trade with China. Those of 1783 and 1784 have been already mentioned, and the last year they had only a single ship. The result of these experiments very probably induced the forming of a new company, and the present year they employ eight ships, — namely, six for India, and two for China; one of which last, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope late in the season, has, it is thought, gone to Pondicherry. Their China ships depend chiefly for their return cargoes on the specie they bring from Europe. Their India ships carry out stores and merchandise to the isles of France and Bourbon, and to their settlements on the coast and in Bengal. Their return cargoes are pepper, coffee, drugs, saltpetre, and piece goods, such as muslins, calicoes, chintzes, and the varirious other manufactures, both of silk and cotton. The French do not themselves entertain very high expectations of their Asiatic commerce. Sensible people among them readily grant that trade is not their *forte*, and with respect to the present company they have not hesitated to pronounce, — "*Qu'elle ne durera pas longtemps.*"

The Spaniards, after conducting their trade in private ships, have formed a company at Manila, whose fund is said to be eight millions of dollars. Their two ships here will return to Manila, where their cargoes will be disposed of, — part being retained for the market there, part sent to their settlements in America, by the way of Acapulco, and the residue to Europe, in other ships. This nation must depend principally upon its silver.

The Portuguese retain scarcely the shadow of their former consequence. A few ships, owned by individuals at Macao and their remaining settlements in India, are kept in the country trade, which is managed by them in much the same manner as by the English. Their European trade, as has been observed, is also conducted by private persons; and so little do they now derive from their possessions in India, that they are obliged in a great measure to depend on a credit from the Chinese for their homeward cargoes. Scarcely one of their ships brings from Europe sufficient funds; and were it not for this credit, and the aid they receive from such European company-servants in India as are desirous of sending home their property, not subject to the scrutiny of their masters, the commerce of this nation with China would undoubtedly fail.

Since the year 1783, some small vessels have been fitted out by private persons in India and at Macao, for the fur-trade with Kamtschatka and the northwest coast of America. Their success has answered the expectation of the adventurers, and not a little reduced the price of furs brought here from Europe.

After this general sketch of the manner in which other nations conduct their commerce with China, it may not be improper to make a few observations on the nature of our own.

The inhabitants of America must have tea, — the consumption of which will necessarily increase with the increasing population of our country. While, therefore, the nations of Europe are for the most part obliged to purchase this commodity with ready money, it must be pleasing to an American to know that his country can have it upon easier terms; and that the otherwise useless produce of her mountains and forests will in a considerable degree supply her with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking; and the manner in which her commerce has commenced, and is now going on, with this country, has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen, the first year, a single ship, not one fifth part of whose funds consisted of ready money, procure a cargo of the same articles, and on equally good terms, as those of their own ships, — purchased, as has been observed, principally with specie. They have seen this ship again here, on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that, too, with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them with the merchandise of this; and, though only a small proportion of their funds consisted of specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

With respect to the demand in this country for the ginseng of America, which might perhaps be rendered as beneficial to her citizens as her mines of silver and gold have been to the rest of mankind, the world has been much mistaken. Until the American flag appeared in this quarter, it had been generally supposed that forty or fifty piculs were equal to the annual consumption. Experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty piculs were brought here by the first American ship, in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greater part of which must have been previously sent there by citizens of the United States. The present season more than eighteen hundred piculs have been sold, one half of which came in the American vessels. Notwithstanding this increased quantity, since 1784, the sales have not been materially affected by it; and it is probable there will always be a sufficient demand for the article to make it equally valuable.

On a consideration of the subject of ginseng, the inquiry seems naturally to arise, Whether it cannot be rendered more beneficial to the country which produces it than it is at present? How far the culture of this commodity is practicable, — in what manner it may best be promoted, — and whether it would be for the interest of America to prevent the exportation of it, in any but American bottoms, directly to this country, may be questions not unworthy of national attention.

Besides the advantages which America may derive from her ginseng, in the direct commerce with China, others would also accrue from making the voyage circuitous, which could be performed without loss of time. Our ship, as has been observed, stopped at Batavia, the capital of the Dutch establishments in India, where we were well received. Iron and naval stores, the produce of our country, found a ready sale; and besides these, we disposed of articles which, though not immediately productions of our own, had been received from other countries in exchange for them. A profit may sometimes be made on merchandise carried from Batavia to Canton. No doubt, similar advantages would result to the Americans in circuitous voyages to China, by the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and through the Straits of Malacca.

On the whole, it must be a most satisfactory consideration to every American, that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by any other people.

The reception we experienced on this second voyage, both from the Chinese and the Europeans, if we except the English, was exceedingly proper. The former were pleased at the increase of our trade, and the latter, with whom Mr. Randall and I were on the footing of old acquaintance, behaved to us in a polite and friendly manner; and the gentlemen of the other ships, I believe, were equally pleased with their reception. To what it could be owing, that the conduct of the English was an exception to that of all the other nations, it is not easy to determine. On their arrival at Canton from Macao, the usual visits were made to them by us, and by them returned; and while every other nation paid us the customary civility of giving and receiving a dinner and supper,* the English alone omitted that attention, not only to us individually, but to the Americans generally. This, however, did not prevent or interrupt that intercourse which will ever exist among gentlemen, and whenever we met at a third place neither party could have occasion to complain. It is true, that the Court of Directors, in their instructions to the supercargoes, the present season, enjoined it upon them to use every endeavour to prevent the subjects of Great Britain from assisting or encouraging in any shape the American commerce; but if this prohibition was intended by the directors, or construed by their servants, to extend to the civilities heretofore paid the Americans, it cannot be denied that such conduct was extremely illiberal.

---

* A circumstance that occurred at the entertainment given us by the Portuguese ought not to be omitted. The dessert, which was very elegant, was prepared in a room adjoining that in which we dined, and the tables were ornamented with representations, in paper painted and gilt, of castles, pagodas, and other Chinese edifices, in each of which were confined small birds. The first toast was *Liberty!* and in an instant, the doors of the paper prisons being set open, the little captives were released, and, flying about us in every direction, seemed to enjoy the blessing which had just been conferred upon them.

With respect to other matters, no incident since that of the unfortunate gunner, in November, 1784,* has occurred to interrupt the usual good understanding between the Chinese and the foreigners ; and that affair entirely abolished the custom of the ships at Whampoa saluting, on any occasion whatever.

The death of our friend Mr. Sears having deranged our intended plan of business in this country, his son goes home to America with Mr. Randall. The interval, till Mr. Randall's return here, I shall employ in visiting Bengal and the coast of Coromandel, the present year, whence I shall come back towards the close of the season ; and the succeeding year, visit Bombay and the Malabar coast.

The business of our ship being brought to a close the 25th of January, 1787, she came to sail from Whampoa the 27th, and landed Mr. Randall and me at Macao on the 1st of February. Mr. Randall returned on board the same evening, and the next morning the pilot left the ship on her way to America.

Conformably to the instructions delivered to me with my commission as Consul, by the Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs, I wrote a letter to him by Mr. Randall, in which some of the most material circumstances relating to the commerce carried on with China by foreigners, of all denominations, as mentioned in the foregoing pages, were inserted ; together with the concluding remarks respecting that of our own country.†

---

* It must occasion pain to every humane mind to reflect that this poor fellow was executed by the Chinese, on the 8th of January following.

† See Appendix, B.

March 14th. There seems to have been a fatality attending me with respect to my intended voyage to Bengal. Time must determine whether the disappointment is owing to my good or bad fortune. The only ship at Canton bound for Bengal, at the close of the season, could not accommodate me; on which I made application to Senhor Mattheus Johannes, an Armenian merchant, and engaged a passage in his vessel, going from Macao to Madras, whence it would be easy to pass to Calcutta. On my arrival at Macao, the 1st of February, I found the ship in readiness for sailing in four days; but on the second day, Captain Dufort having informed me that there was a vessel, of which he was commander, that would certainly sail by the 15th directly for Calcutta, on board of which I could have a passage, I relinquished the idea of going *viâ* Madras, in Mattheus's ship, which sailed on the 9th. In this interval, the Ganges arrived on the 3d from Canton, having on board several passengers taken since the time a passage was refused me. The Europeans say it is an unheard-of thing to refuse a gentleman a passage in a country ship, and perhaps, had I been a European, there would not have been an exception in my case. Mr. J. McIntyre, the owner, apologized by telling me that his sickness at the time of my application was the cause of the refusal, for which he declared himself exceedingly sorry. However, as he did not offer, I would not again ask a passage, and the ship sailed on the 7th. Appearances seemed to threaten that Botelho's ship would not be ready at the time fixed; but patience was now my only remedy, and this virtue has been not a little exercised. After repeated delays of a week, a few days, and at last of only one day, it was announced, on the 3d of the present month, that her voyage was changed, and she was now destined for Manila, — in pursuance of which, they the next day began unloading the cargo she had taken on board for Bengal.

Mortifying as is this disappointment, I have no alternative. I must stay at Macao, under the uneasy reflection that I have lost the whole season. Without a single object of business, — with next to none of amusement, — and incurring a greater expense than would have attended my proposed visit to Bengal, I must endeavour patiently to wait here the course of events.

July. A residence of nearly six months at Macao has afforded me opportunities of gaining more insight into the affairs of the settlement than could otherwise have been obtained. With respect to situation and government, it does not differ essentially from the account given in the preceding pages,* taken from Anson's Voyage. The administration is vested in a governor and senate, independent of whom are a syndic, or civil judge, and a vicar-general for ecclesiastical affairs, all of whom are appointed at Goa. On the surrounding heights, and at the extreme points on the shore, are forts and batteries, which in any other hands might be useful. However, there is no want of military parade, as the governor never takes the air without a small guard of sepoys, and the same ceremony is observed by his lady. The establishment consists of one hundred and fifty sepoys, regular troops from Goa, and the inhabitants enrolled as militia, part of whom are clothed like the sepoys, and assist in the duties of the garrison.

Besides the inhabitants more immediately subject to the Portuguese authority, the Chinese, who are perhaps more numerous, keep up a separate, independent government, by their mandarins, and a custom-house of their own.

---

* Ante, pp. 162, 163.

The salary of the governor is twelve hundred taels per annum, an allowance which would be inadequate to his support, were it not assisted by considerable advantages he derives from commerce. Opium is with the Chinese absolutely contraband, and cannot legally be admitted into their ports, under any conditions whatever. This prohibition does not extend to Macao, as belonging to the Portuguese, and the governor takes care to be interested in all that is brought there in Portuguese ships from Bengal, and, to a considerable extent, in what the English vessels bring. It often happens that these latter, on failing to obtain at Canton, where it can always be smuggled with the utmost security, the price they demand for their opium, make a deposit of it in some Portuguese vessel at Macao, in order that they may not lose a season by waiting for the market to rise ; in which case, the governor is either concerned as a partner in the business, or receives a handsome *douceur*. It is said that in the season of 1784 and 1785 his emoluments from this article did not fall short of forty thousand dollars, which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that upwards of two thousand chests, valued on an average at three hundred and fifty dollars each, are annually brought to China. Since that time, however, the governor's perquisites on this article have been much reduced, notwithstanding the importations have increased. Instead of being concerned with him, as before, the English speculators now keep a vessel plying among the neighbouring islands, where are plenty of safe harbours, which vessel serves as a depository for so much of the drug as remains on hand when the time arrives for the return to Bengal of the ships that brought it. The Chinese purchasers repair to this vessel, and pay the money before receiving the opium, in addition to which they pay twenty dollars for every chest to the mandarins, who in their boats always keep near enough to watch and receive the bribe.

The claim of the Portuguese to the Typa, to the exclusion of the ships of all other nations, the Chinese alone excepted, is not a little extraordinary. The Typa is a safe harbour, formed by several islands, and leads into that of Macao, but is not under command of either of their forts, nor can they bring a single gun to bear upon any part of it. Yet, notwithstanding this, and the great hazard to which ships are sometimes exposed in the open road, if it so happens, that, even in stress of weather, a ship puts in there, the captain, on coming ashore, is seized and confined, either in the common prison, called the *tronco*, or in one of their forts. An instance of this sort happened, during my stay there, to the captain of an English country ship; and it was not without considerable concessions that he regained his liberty, after a confinement of eight days. Extraordinary as is this claim of the Portuguese, it seems much more so that other Europeans in India should allow them to exercise it, especially as it would be so easy to retaliate upon them in every port they frequent.

Another instance of the injustice of the Portuguese on the one part, and the submission of the Europeans on the other, is in relation to houses. These are generally in a wretched condition when let to the Europeans. As soon as a house is put in good repair, which is done at the expense of the tenant, the proprietor, although the lease may have been given for a number of years, demands his house again, or else an addition to the rent. Unless one of these conditions is complied with, the owner takes possession the moment the tenant leaves it to go to Canton, and the latter is then obliged to look out for another house. The Swedes' house was the best in Macao, and for repairs and improvements had cost their company upwards of eight thousand dollars. The governor, or rather his lady, took a fancy to it, and the Swedes were under the necessity of consenting to an exchange, which was in every respect unfavorable to them, for the governor's house is not worth half the money which the mere improvements on the other have cost. In matters where an individual European is concerned, they do not use even the ceremony of asking consent. Either his house is taken possession of in his absence, as was that of Mr. Hall, the last season ; or he receives an order to quit it, as was the case, but a few weeks ago, with Mr. Peach.* It was necessary to provide a house for the syndic, who was expected from Goa, and Mr. Peach was ordered to quit his. This order he refused to comply with, especially as the rent for the current year had been paid ; and accordingly he shut his doors, determining to keep possession. This availed him nothing, for the succeeding morning his doors were broken open, and himself seized in his bed and committed to a dungeon in the tronco. From this imprisonment it was five days before he was released, and in the mean time his house was made ready for the syndic, who shortly after arrived and took possession. In the interval between the taking of Mr. Peach's house and the arrival of the syndic, a letter was received from the latter, who had formerly been at Macao, desiring that a house in which he had then lived might be taken for him. This house being occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Dozy, all the grace they could obtain was that they might remain in it till the Dutch went to Canton, when they could remove to the company's house. The syndic expressed his disapprobation of the violence that had been used towards Mr. Peach, and declared that he would not remain in his house longer than till one could be taken of the Portuguese, nor would he go into that of Madame Dozy, as it was his intention that no European should be put to inconvenience on his account. — I made my visit of ceremony to this magistrate, who arrived only two days before I left Macao. He is a European Portuguese, appears to be about fifty years of age, speaks the French language perfectly, and is polite and intelligent.

---

* Messrs. Peach and Hall are supercargoes in the English factory.

The disputes between the Portuguese and foreigners at Macao, respecting houses, are occasioned by the latter not being suffered to hold any real estate there; otherwise, instead of hiring houses, they would purchase grounds and build for themselves. Nor are these disputes confined to houses occupied by the living only. If a heretic happens to die, he cannot obtain burial in the Catholic city; and a bargain must be made with the Chinese, who own all without the walls, before he can be conveyed to his long home.

Were a person to judge of the piety of the Christian inhabitants of Macao from the number of churches, he would undoubtedly estimate it as of the highest order. Besides thirteen of these, there is a convent of Dominican and Franciscan friars, and another of nuns, neither of which, however, has many occupants. These, as well as the other public edifices, such as the senate-house, the court-house, the prison, and the hospitals, are in a handsome style, and built of stone or brick. The private houses are generally large and commodious, and are either painted white or washed with lime.

The Europeans, as has been observed, who have establishments at Canton, pass the intervals between the seasons for trade at Macao, where each nation has a good house, hired of the Portuguese, in which they are well accommodated. There is a tolerable market for fish, poultry, and pork; besides abundance of vegetables raised by the Chinese. When the gentlemen of the several nations are all there, the state of society is not bad. Each house has a billiard-table, many individuals keep pleasure-boats, and there is a public concert twice a week. Besides these diversions, there was a faro-bank held every Saturday evening, generally at the house of the Danish chief, Mr. Vogelsang, though occasionally, and sometimes on other evenings, at the apartments of the Dutch chief. It often happens, that, for want of room in what are called the company's houses, some gentlemen among the English and Dutch hire houses on their own account, towards the rent of which they are allowed a stipulated sum by the company. This gives rise to a number of social parties, and tends to promote a harmony and good-fellowship, which would not subsist uninterrupted, were they obliged to live always together.

During my residence here, every attention has been paid me that I could wish. From the chief, Mr. Hemmingson, and other gentlemen of the Dutch house, it was of such a nature that I went to their table whenever I pleased and without ceremony. To that of the

Swedes I always waited for a particular invitation. With the Danes generally, and with their chief, Mr. Vogelsang, particularly, who kept a separate house and had his lady with him, I was ever at home. With the French supercargo, M. Desmoulins, and the other gentlemen of that nation, I was upon a friendly footing, particularly with M. Bourgogne, second of the late Imperial factory, who showed me much friendship. Mr. and Mrs. Dozy, of the Dutch house, who lived separate from the company, as did Messrs. Benthem and Boers of the same nation, were also particularly attentive to me, and I received their respective civilities without reserve.

Our society found a very pleasing addition in the company of Mrs. Hepworth, and her sister, Miss McQuin, — the husband of the former lady, who is a captain of one of the English company's ships, having left them here till his return from Canton. They remained until the latter part of March. During their stay, the entertainments given them at different houses always comprehended a ball in the evening, on which occasions never more than six ladies, including Madame la Governante * and Madame de Souza, could be mustered.

We were likewise honored by a visit from the Count de la Pérouse, who, with two ships of his Most Christian Majesty, had stopped here in the prosecution of his voyage round the world. Besides these, a few days after the Count's departure, two other French men-of-war arrived, about the middle of February, and passed the

---

* The governor's lady so styled, and sometimes "Her Excellency," as being notoriously the head of the family and of the government. The other lady was of French extraction, from the Isle of France, and wife to a European Portuguese.

Boca Tigris before it was discovered by the Chinese that they were not merchantmen, — they having reported themselves at Macao as such, and kept most of their men and guns out of sight until their pilots for Canton were on board. What was the object of these vessels, in going above the Boca Tigris, contrary to custom for ships of war, did not transpire. On their return, one of them, commanded by the Viscount de Castries, stopped ten days in the roads, during which time he and his officers were occasionally on shore.

On the arrival of the English gentlemen, the beginning of April, I made them the customary visit of ceremony, which was returned by them in due order. The chief, Mr. Browne, gave me an invitation to their table, which I declined by begging he would excuse me. A few days afterwards, at the Dutch house, he gave me another, and, putting his hand on my shoulder, in a familiar manner, added, — "And not only to-morrow, but every Sunday during the season, as we have fixed upon that day to entertain our friends." My reply on this occasion was similar to the former. After this I received no further invitation, as he undoubtedly saw that it was my intention not to accept any from him; and though we met as often as two or three times a week at other places, and always upon good terms, yet, as he never asked, so I never assigned, any reason for my refusal. This, however, did not prevent him from visiting me twice afterwards, during a slight indisposition that confined me three weeks, or hinder me from returning his visits. As Mr. Browne is preëminent among the English, in point of understanding, I regretted this awkwardness between us; especially when I found that his inattention to the Americans at Canton, the last season, was not the result of design, but had proceeded altogether from absence of mind, for which he is remarkable to a proverb. However, I had taken my resolution, and I mean steadily to adhere to it, never to dine at the English table during his chieftaincy, unless he should offer some apology for past inattention. This determination has not hindered me from accepting invitations from my neighbour, Mr. Cumings (second of this nation), or prevented him from receiving mine, which, as he lives in a separate house, have been mutually repeated. Mr. Freeman, also, though living in the national house, frequently favored me with his company at my supper-parties, of which I gave one to each family, in acknowledgment of the many civilities for which I was indebted to them.

Besides company servants, private traders sometimes reside at Macao for the season. Of this class is Mr. Cox, an English gentleman (whose father established the celebrated museum), who deals largely in all sorts of clockwork and jewelry, and is the consignee of most of these articles brought to Canton. He is also concerned in two country ships in the Bengal trade. Another is Signor Pavolini, an Italian, dealing largely in coral, pearl, and other valuable commodities of this sort.

Excepting with the governor's family, and those of Senhor Mattheus Johannes, and Senhora de Souza, there is no intercourse between the Europeans residing at Macao and its Portuguese inhabitants. However, the military and a few of the principal citizens sometimes attend the concert. It is customary in the course of the season for the different nations to make one or more dinners for their Excellencies, — which, by the way, they never return. *Her* Excellency, Dona Maria, is a European Portuguese, sensible, artful, and, when she pleases, very agreeable. *His* Excellency appears to be under forty years of age, is a native of Goa, and in point of knowledge vastly her inferior. To persons not acquainted with the Indian-Portuguese, so called, what I am going to relate of this governor may appear an illiberal sarcasm rather than the simple truth. But it is a fact, that he did ask an English gentleman, who sat between him and me at the Swedish table, whether the war between England and America was yet at an end! And it was not long after, when news arrived of the troubles in Holland, that his Excellency, on being told some of the particulars, in which the words *the states* and *the prince* repeatedly occurred, very gravely desired to know what part *the king* took in the business! One of the principal senators, on another occasion, betrayed an equal want of knowledge, when, the American Revolution being the topic, it was observed that the English had lost a great deal in losing America. "Ah," replied our politician, "that may be; but they have taken Pulo Pinang!" When such are the rulers, what must the bulk of the people be? The united voice of the European residents proclaims them idle to a proverb, consequently poor, and superstitious in the extreme.

That this character should apply to the population of Macao generally, or to parts of it with but few exceptions, is not very remarkable, when we consider, that, so far from being Portuguese, as they are improperly called, they are a mixture of that people, not only with the Chinese, but with almost every nation in India, and that not three in a hundred of them have ever been westward of the Cape of Good Hope. The members of the administration are almost universally born in India, and, from appearances, a person may be induced to suppose that not all even of this class are wholly free from mixture. The language generally spoken, though called Portuguese, is such a medley of this with the Malay and Chinese, as to be unintelligible to a gentleman from Lisbon, on his first arrival, — his mother tongue affording him but very little advantage.

There are many very beautiful situations at Macao, one of which is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. It is a rising ground on the western shore of the peninsula, and commands a view of the city, the harbour, the roads, and the neighbouring islands. There is an elegant house belonging to it, and the gardens, which are very extensive and judiciously laid out, render it a terrestrial paradise. This place has generally been occupied by Europeans, and at present is the residence of Messrs. Lance and Fitzhugh, of the English house, who have expended considerable sums upon it, in a manner which does honor to their taste. It is so eminently delightful, that it has obtained the name of *Casa da horta*, or Garden-House. The cost of keeping it in order is the reason why none of the grandees of Macao choose to possess it. A circumstance that adds to the celebrity of this garden is that, in a natural arch, formed by two rocks, with a third of enormous size on the top, the celebrated Camoens wrote his poem of the Lusiad, by which he has immortalized himself and his adventurous countrymen, who, first doubling the Cape of Good Hope, discovered that route to India.

On the 28th of July arrived from New York the brigantine Columbia, one hundred and forty tons burden, Solomon Bunker master. The supercargo, Mr. Hayden, and his friend Mr. Gorton, being desirous of going immediately to Canton, we agreed to take up our quarters together; on which I left Macao the next evening, in their vessel, and on the 31st arrived at Canton, having previously engaged from Mr. Lane apartments in the late Imperial factory.

December 20th. The scarcity of rice, the bread of the Chinese, was so great in the year 1786 as to cause a general alarm throughout the province of Canton, and an uncommon drought, the past season, having cut short both crops, has terribly augmented the calamity. This article, which has been hitherto sold at three dollars a picul, now costs eight, and the distress occasioned by the high price extends not only throughout this, but to the neighbouring provinces. The magistracy, in the beginning of the season, endeavoured to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, by distributing rice to them daily. On one of these occasions, the 30th of July, the press was so great, that, on opening the doors of the storehouse, two-and-twenty poor women were trodden to death; and the same day, as a number of these unhappy people were returning to their habitations, on the opposite side of the river, a squall overset the boat and drowned seventeen of them. At all times, even in the most plentiful seasons, the humanity of a foreigner is constantly shocked by the number of beggars, men, women, and children, that frequent the quay in front of the factories, — some of whom have the most loathsome appearance imaginable. The Chinese magistrates are certainly culpable in suffering such things; and even in the present distressing season, a small exertion on their part would prevent the scenes of horror which daily present themselves. It is not that rice is not to be had, but only that it is dear; on which account, the provision made for the unhappy sufferers was soon dis-continued; and during the last six weeks, since the cold nights have set in, it has been no uncommon thing in the morning to find one or more persons dead on the quay. Whatever may be the general administration of affairs in China, certainly the police of Canton, as it regards, or rather as it does not regard, the poor, is extremely defective; nor is this the only instance that contradicts the prevailing idea of the excellence of the Chinese government. At present there are great disturbances in many parts of the empire, and the insurrections in the island of Formosa and the adjacent country threaten consequences of a serious nature. The war in that quarter has raged upwards of a twelvemonth, and its issue is yet doubtful. The oppressions exercised by government have reduced the inhabitants of those parts to a state of desperation, which has had the most pernicious effects on the agriculture and commerce, not only of that, but of the neighbouring provinces.

List of Ships, and Ginseng brought in them.

		Piculs.	Catties.
English,	28	500	38
Dutch,	5	25	5
Swedish,	2	19	51
Danish,	2	9	48
French,	3	115	99
Prussian,	1	3	69
Tuscan,	1	—	—
American,	1	52	18
	—	Pic. 726, 28 cat.	

43, to pass the Cape of Good Hope.
Country ships, 31, bound back to India.
Portuguese, 4, at Macao, bound to Lisbon.

From England one ship more is expected, and another from Bombay. The Prussian and Tuscan are private vessels.

Though the number of the English ships does not exceed that of the last year, yet, from their superior size, the quantity of tonnage is greatly increased. It is the custom of this nation to hire their shipping by the ton, though the vessels generally carry more than what they are taken up for, — the excess being called surplus tonnage, and reckoned at half price. Thus, the Nottingham, taken up for eleven hundred and six tons, received seventeen hundred and sixty of merchandise. This was far beyond the usual proportion, which is estimated from twenty to twenty-five per cent. Should any damage, however, happen to merchandise so taken on board, the owners of the vessel must make it good.

In the list of English ships are included two that are less than the common size, which came from the northwest coast of America, where they had been for furs. To encourage this trade, the company agreed to pay the expense of their measurement at Canton (as they do in the case of the other ships), and freight them back to England, at the rate of surplus tonnage. Four others were expected from Botany Bay, on the southeast coast of New Holland, where they had carried out convicts, of both sexes, from Great Britain, to form a new settlement; but, by a subsequent order of the ministry, it was determined that they should remain there one year, in order to protect and assist in establishing the colony. There is reason to expect that in time this may become an important settlement, especially when it is remembered that mighty Rome had a similar origin.

In the opinion of judicious observers, the English seem not only to be aiming at the monopoly of the tea-trade for Europe, but to have in view the exclusive commerce of this division of the globe. The new plan of government for Bengal and its dependencies, — their late establishments, both to the eastward and westward, — the prohibition to their subjects in India against selling their ships to foreigners, — and, in short, their whole conduct, strongly favor the suspicion. This object, and to be sure it is no trifling one, is now considered as the great idol of the English nation; and in consequence of it, the current of popular opinion carries rapidly along every measure which the company think fit to adopt. How far the Dutch, whom it most nearly concerns, will suffer attempts of this kind, a few years must determine. The settlement of the English at Pulo Pinang, which enables them to command the whole of the navigation from the peninsula of India, that of Malaya, and the island of Sumatra, has not a little alarmed them; and the settlement at Botany Bay, on the south-east coast of New Holland, has increased their apprehensions. It is not improbable that there may be an opposition also from the Swedes and Danes, who certainly find their advantage in this commerce, — and from the French, invariably their enemies. Perhaps a commercial confederation of these nations for their mutual benefit, not unlike the armed neutrality during the late war, may be adopted, as the best means of checking and defeating such exorbitant pretensions.

Since the year 1784, the trade here has been constantly tending to the disadvantage of the Europeans. The imports, collectively taken, hardly defray the first cost, and the exports have increased in a ratio beyond all possible conjecture. On an average, at the most moderate computation, the price of every sort of tea, Bohea alone excepted, has advanced more than forty per cent., — nor is it yet at the highest point. Such is the demand for this article, that the Chinese hardly know *how much* to ask for it; and, should the rage for purchasing continue only another year, it is not improbable that its price may be doubled.

Concerning our commerce in this quarter, which is yet in its infancy, — inconsiderable as it has hitherto been, and is this year especially, it continues to be viewed with no small degree of jealousy. Respecting the article of ginseng, the sales of it this season confirm me in the opinion of the great advantages America may derive from it. The price has been from one hundred and thirty to two hundred dollars a picul, at which rate the best now stands; though it will probably rise twenty or thirty dollars before the departure of the last ships.

December 31st. Thus has passed away the year 1787. My disappointment in not going to Bengal has been already noticed, and eventually it may be considered as fortunate. Had I gone at that late period, the only ship in which I could have taken passage back again was the Ganges, and she was lost in coming out of the river from Calcutta, when upwards of sixty persons perished.

The small vessel from America, though not advantageous in other respects, afforded me an opportunity of sending home a small property, taken up on credit from the Chinese, as part of the funds for building a large ship, in or near Boston, in which I purpose to return here in 1790, it being my intention to embark for America at the close of the next season. By this opportunity, I wrote my official letter to the Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs.*

There being only this vessel here from America, it seemed a good opportunity for a speculation, and an occasion offered which promised to afford the means of engaging in one agreeably to my wishes. A gentleman had a ship of between five and six hundred tons to dispose of, and the terms were not unreasonable, especially as he wanted the American vessel in part pay, the supercargo of which had consented to let me have her and freight his goods home in the ship to be purchased. Every thing was going on well, and I had made conditional engagements for her cargo, when, after nine days' negotiation, the proposed sale was found to be impracticable. The ship was registered at Bengal, and no method could be fallen upon to avoid the penalty, should she be sold to a foreigner. The regulation prohibiting such sales was made last year, in consequence of Mr. Randall and myself, in the year 1784, sending to America a ship belonging to British subjects in India, who are not allowed to navigate westward of the Cape of Good Hope. All owners of ships, therefore, are now obliged to have them registered, and to give bond, in a sum double the value of ship and cargo, that they shall not be sold to foreigners of any denomination, but by permission of government, or even to British subjects, except under the like conditions. Some circumstances, however, induced the owner of this ship to think he could elude these restrictions, but the result of his endeavours proved the contrary.

The failure of this scheme induced me to pursue my original one for Bengal, and I had scarcely done regretting the disappointment, when an occurrence took place which perfectly reconciled me to it. A ship of a thousand tons, from Philadelphia, the late Alliance frigate, arrived at Macao on the 23d, and moored at Whampoa on the 29th, having left the Capes of Delaware on the 20th of June, and come by the eastward, round New Holland and New Guinea, without ever anchoring till she arrived in Macao roads. She is owned solely by Robert Morris, Esq., is commanded by Captain Thomas Reid, and has brought a supercargo, Mr. George Harrison, with letters for Mr. Chalmers, second in the Swedish factory, and of course will have no occasion for any concern with me.* Had my speculation gone on, the arrival of this ship would have proved a sad *contre-temps*, as it was adopted altogether upon the presumption that there would be no competition.

---

* See Appendix, C.

As Pope says, "Whatever is, is right." I must endeavour to be of his opinion. I have therefore taken my passage for Bengal in Messrs. McIntyre's ship, and I hope it will be a safe one; for, as they were part owners of the one before mentioned as having been lost in the river of Calcutta, it can hardly come to their turn the ensuing season to lose another.

January 16th, 1788. Having made my visits of leave, I shall to-morrow morning embark for Calcutta, — previously to which it may not be improper for me to remark, that, though no national attentions on the part of the English have been shown to the Americans, yet the usual ceremony of visiting has been mutually observed between them and me. We have, as before, met frequently at other tables, and at the Danish concert. They have also a public concert this year, at their own house, every Wednesday evening; but, for the reasons already mentioned, I have declined going to it. This occasions no misunderstanding between us, nor have I any cause of complaint on my individual account. There are many respectable characters among them, some of whom I have the pleasure to reckon among my friends. After saying thus much concerning the English, I should be guilty of the highest ingratitude, were I to omit expressing my entire satisfaction with the reception and treatment I have experienced from the chiefs and gentlemen of the other nations. Their behaviour towards me has been, and continues to be, in all respects proper, and in many instances really friendly.

---

* She has brought upwards of two hundred and fifty piculs of ginseng.

VISIT TO BENGAL.

VISIT TO BENGAL.

Having made my arrangements for visiting Bengal, in the interval between the trade of 1787 and 1788, I left Canton on Thursday morning, the 17th of January, and proceeded as far as Whampoa, on my way to the ship Argyle, Captain Robert Martin Fowle, at Second Bar; but evening coming on, Mr. Horsley, an English gentleman and fellow-passenger, thought it advisable to pass the night on board the Hawke, commanded by his friend Captain Pennell. Here we were politely entertained by the second mate, Mr. Ellis, and the doctor; the captain and first mate being at Canton. After breakfast, on the 18th, we proceeded to Second Bar, and arrived on board at noon, where we found, as passengers, Mr. Demetrius, a Greek merchant, Mr. Gregory, an Armenian, and Mr. Jones, late a midshipman of the Belvidere. On the 20th, in the forenoon, I went ashore at Macao. After my visit of ceremony to the governor and lady, I called on Senhor Mattheus Johannes, and on Mr. Vogelsang. Mrs. Dozy had, a few days before, embarked for Holland. Having dined with Messrs. Sebire and Dufort, I returned on board in the evening, with two additional gentlemen, Mr. Bean and Mr. Wheatley, late midshipmen in the Belvidere;* the former goes as third mate, and the latter as passenger. The first mate is Mr. Hobbs, and the second Mr. Kier. On the 23d, we sailed from English Cove, among the islands in the neighbourhood of Macao, where, since the 21st, the captain had been delivering opium on board Captain Gilfilling's snow.

Tuesday, February 5th, we arrived at Malacca, where we found a Dutch ship of war, with two frigates; their flags at half-mast for the commodore, who died yesterday. The captain, Mr. Horsley, and I, went on shore at five o'clock, and took lodgings at the tavern, kept by Mr. Lefevre. The commodore was buried the same evening. The next day I visited the Shabandar, but, on account of indisposition and the heat of the weather, I was obliged to decline his offer of presenting me to the governor, and in the evening we returned on board.

Tuesday, the 12th, we arrived at Pulo Pinang. The next morning I went on shore, and visited the governor, Francis Light, Esq., — also, the commander of the company's ship Intrepid, Captain Pickett, of the Bombay marine, whose invitation to stay at his house, with his friend Mr. Horsley, I readily accepted. We dined with the governor that day, and again on the 16th, when he presented Mr. Horsley and me each with a dragon's-blood cane. The day before, Mr. Gray, a lieutenant in the navy, but acting as a lieutenant of artillery, arrived with his lady, passengers in the ship Enterprise, Captain Elmore, from Calcutta. We dined in company with them, the governor, and other gentlemen, at Captain

---

* As no person is allowed to go out in a company's ship and remain in India without leave of the directors, adventurers who find it difficult to obtain permission enter on board as midshipmen, and, on the ship's arrival, leave her, and are put down in the log-book, "*run*."

Glass's, who is also a lieutenant of artillery, and commandant of the troops. On Sunday morning, the 17th, we went on board, and the ship came to sail.

Pulo Pinang, or, as it is now called by the English, Prince of Wales Island, was taken possession of by them early in 1786. It is between twelve and thirteen miles long, its medium breadth about five, and has a very good and safe harbour. It was given by the king of Queda to Mr. Light, who, as captain of a country ship, had for a number of years been in the Malay trade, and was well known to his Majesty ; for the Malay princes are the chief merchants in their own dominions. Its situation, near the west entrance of the Straits of Malacca, is so advantageous, in trading with the Malays for tin, pepper, canes, rattans, &c., that it has become an object of attention to the Bengal government. They have appointed Mr. Light superintendent, and sent a detachment of a hundred sepoys, under Captain Glass and Lieutenant Raburn, together with the Intrepid, from Bombay, for its protection. The settlement is in a most thriving condition, there being, exclusive of the garrison, nearly two thousand Chinese established here, besides some Malays, all of whom have comfortable habitations, regularly disposed in streets intersecting at right angles. The governor and his assistants reside in the fort, which is a square redoubt, fortified with bastions, and the troops are lodged in huts at a convenient distance on the plain. The encouragement given to the Malays to bring their merchandise to this place, where they obtain the highest prices, and have the certainty of receiving either dollars, opium, or such commodities as they have occasion for, and without incurring any risk, has already much affected the Dutch at Malacca in their commerce with these people, and it is not improbable will in a short time deprive them of it entirely. There is the appearance of great harmony in the little society at this settlement, and the addition of the lady of Lieutenant Gray will no doubt conduce to render it more agreeable. Besides the gentlemen before mentioned, there is Mr. Pigou, assistant to the governor, Doctor Hutton, Mr. Deniston, and Mr. Farquhar, Doctor James, of the ship, and Mr. Drummond, first lieutenant; also Mr. Scott, a private trader, late captain of a country ship, and commonly called Malay Scott. This gentleman is said to be a partner of the governor, and carries on the principal portion of the trade; not but that it is free to every one, however. The tin, pepper, and other merchandise collected here, are sold to the European or country ships bound to Canton, unless the owners prefer exporting on their own account.

Nothing remarkable happening on our passage to Bengal, we were met in the river, on the 14th of March, at noon, by Adam Turnbull, Esq., one of the owners of the ship, with whom the captain and I went ashore the same evening, to his house, about seven miles from Calcutta, and the next morning he proceeded with us in the ship to town.

Having been furnished by Mr. Freeman with letters of introduction to his friend Mr. Conyers, and to his agent, Mr. Colvin, I waited on the former gentleman the same evening, whose invitation to make his house my home, as I had expected it, I accepted, and went there on the 17th. Mr. Parkin also gave me letters to his friends Anthony Lambert, Esq., and Thomas Myers, Esq., the former of whom made me the offer of his house, and pressed me much to accept it, urging that it must be inconvenient to me to reside with Mr. Conyers, whose house was three miles out of town. I was under the necessity of declining his offer for that time, but agreed to accept it on my return from the foreign settlements up the river, which I intended visiting as soon as I could with convenience. Of this arrangement Mr. Conyers was so obliging as to admit the propriety.

The establishments formed by the English East India Company, particularly that at Calcutta, the capital, are so generally known, that a detailed account of them, by a person merely on a short visit here, could not be deemed very interesting. With respect to Bengal and its dependencies, the government, it is allowed, is well administered, — the riches and resources of the country are great, — commerce is in a flourishing condition, — and the natives are easy and apparently happy. The company's servants, and other Europeans permitted to reside in Calcutta as free merchants, live in a style superior, perhaps, to that of any other trading people in the world. The buildings, as well private as public, together with the country-seats in the environs, and even the monuments of the dead, display marks of opulence and magnificence of which a person who has not seen them, but who considers what the settlement must have been thirty years ago, can form no adequate idea. Fort William alone, a regular fortification, requiring a garrison of ten thousand men, with its cannon and stores, has cost the company upwards of three millions sterling. It contains a superb arsenal, a laboratory for the preparation of every kind of stores, with a foundry for brass cannon and mortars, on the most extensive scale. It is not probable that the strength of this fort will ever be tried, as the navigation of the Ganges is so intricate and dangerous that no operations against it by a marine can promise success; and the country powers are so entirely subdued, that there is no probability of its ever being attacked by land. This work was planned and undertaken while the recollection of the horrid catastrophe in the Black Hole was strong in every one's mind. But so rapid has been the increase of wealth, and consequently of power, to the company, that the present inhabitants seem to be amazed that the fears of their predecessors should have induced them to suppose a work so extensive, and attended with such an enormous expense, could ever be essential to their protection and security. It is, notwithstanding, continued in excellent repair, and serves to keep alive in the minds of the natives a dread of the immense power of their masters. The several alterations of late years in the administration for India, and the appointment of a military crown-officer to be governor-general of Bengal, together with similar appointments in the other presidencies, tend very much to the introduction of an entire change of the system. It is generally thought, that, on the expiration of the company's present charter, the government will be vested in the crown, so far as respects the jurisdiction, the military, and the finances; and that the company will receive the surplus of the revenues towards furnishing their homeward investments, as heretofore. The gross revenue of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to the company, is estimated at four crores of rupees; a crore being ten millions, and a rupee equal to two shillings sterling; which makes the whole amount to four millions of pounds. A regal government, it is supposed, will not on the whole be disagreeable to a majority of the European inhabitants; and it is generally allowed that it will be highly grateful to the native princes, who certainly will prefer being tributary to a powerful nation, with a king at its head, rather than to delegated authority from a trading company.

The free merchants derive no small advantage from the company's annual remittance to China, towards purchasing the teas for Europe. The company's opium is disposed of at public sale, and the merchant who buys it, upon giving security to pay the amount, at the current exchange, into their treasury at Canton, has the benefit of a credit. Silver can sometimes be obtained on similar terms. This, together with a part of the opium, is applied to the purchase of tin and pepper from the Malays and at Batavia, on which a handsome profit is made at Canton, as well as on the remainder of the opium, for which they there find a good market.

With respect to the society at Calcutta, the line of distinction seems to be rather too strongly marked. The company's servants and the principal merchants form the first class; and though in the second there may be, and frequently are, persons of respectable character, under the denomination of European shopkeepers, with a stock in trade of from two to five lacks* of rupees, yet these are not considered fit company for the former, nor are they admitted either to the assemblies or the concerts. Besides these amusements, there is a theatre, to which tickets of admission are sold, as in other places. The performers are mostly gentlemen of the settlement, who also act the female parts; and the surplus money, after defraying the expenses of the house, is applied to charitable purposes. There are also occasional exhibitions of fireworks, executed with taste and grandeur. The hour of dinner is three o'clock, and, after rising from table, the amusement is generally a ride round the course, in carriages, being a circuit of five or six miles. Here, at stated times, the races are held, and at a distance, in the dry season, the place is distinguishable only by an immense cloud of dust; it not being possible to perceive a single object, till a person gets fairly involved in the thickest of it. After returning from the course, the gentlemen and ladies dress for the evening, at which time only, between eight and half past nine, the latter receive visits; the hour of supper being ten o'clock. This is a politic regulation, as the ladies in India soon lose that bloom and freshness peculiar to European complexions. However, this loss is compensated by a certain softness and delicacy of feature, which seems to render them more feminine, and of course more interesting. Their appearance is not a little improved by the light of the candles, and by the extreme neatness, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the *purity* of their dress, which consists usually of the finest muslin. Indeed, in one respect, the ladies in Calcutta should be considered a pattern for the sex. In the care of their persons they cannot be exceeded, and perhaps are scarcely equalled, by any in the world; few of them bathe less than twice, and some, in the warmest season, as often as three times, during the twenty-four hours. Nor are the gentlemen deficient in this point; for, their under-clothes being cotton, it is not an uncommon thing among them to change their apparel three times a day.

---

* A lack is a hundred thousand.

I cannot, in this account of the society at Calcutta, omit observing, that, in general, this city can be outdone by few places in hospitality and attention to strangers; and, where a gentleman is furnished with letters of introduction, nothing can be more cordial than the reception he meets. From the first moment of my acquaintance with Mr. Lambert, as well before as after I went to live with him, his attention to me was unremitted. He took every opportunity of introducing me to the best company, and making the circle as extensive as possible. To Lady Chambers, and to her husband, Sir Robert, who is the chief-justice, we made our first visit; and it is with pleasure I recollect the easy politeness with which I was received at that time, and afterwards at their table, by her Ladyship and the knight. She is a charming woman, may be about three or four-and-thirty, and, though she has been fourteen years in the country, and is mother of eight children, has yet the remains of considerable personal beauty. At her Ladyship's table I was made acquainted with her cousin, Mr. Wilton, a gentleman of elegant manners, from whom I received repeated marks of attention and civility. From Mr. Addison and his lady I met with a pleasing reception. This gentleman is son of Captain Addison, of the fifty-second regiment, who fell at Bunker's Hill; and in some subsequent engagement in America he had a brother mortally wounded. There being an intimate friendship between Mr. Lambert and this family, we frequently visited them, and never failed to find a sociable party. By Mr. Johnson I was twice entertained at Raspugly, his country-seat, six miles from town. Few persons are admitted to be better informed generally; and as the result of having been much employed at the courts of the native princes, he possesses a thorough knowledge of Indian politics and intrigue. He himself lives somewhat in the style of a native prince, particularly with respect to his women, for whom he has a regular set of apartments and a separate garden. They live after the manner of the inmates of the zenana, or seraglio, and have never been seen, even by their keeper's most intimate acquaintance; — I do not use the term friends, because it is a trait in this gentleman's character, that he regards friendship but as a name. There are many persons for whom he professes an esteem, and he himself is the object of general esteem; but at a time of life apparently under the age of forty, he knows mankind either too well or too ill.

Besides my letters to Mr. Lambert and Mr. Myers, I had been favored with one from Mr. Peach to his brother, by whom and Mrs. Peach, after they came to live in town, as also by Mr. Keighly, and his wife, a sister of Mr. Peach, I was politely received, and dined with them a few days before leaving the place. A letter from Mr. Cox to Captain Robinson, military commissary-general, procured me from him the usual attention. From Mr. Turnbull, a free merchant, and principal owner of the Argyle, I received not only civilities, but also offers of service, in the most friendly manner. This gentleman, in the early part of his life, resided in New Jersey, where he studied law two or three years, and has a brother on Long Island, whom I knew as a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania artillery. There is always a party at his house on Sundays, when his acquaintance are sure to find him at home, and are treated by him and his wife with a hospitality that convinces them they are welcome. Few men in the settlement are more beloved than Mr. Turnbull; and when he makes an offer of his services and friendship, it is easy to see that it is not a matter of profession only. With Mr. Conyers, during my residence at his house, and his neighbours Williams and Jones, and Mr. McIntosh, I passed the time very agreeably. These, though worthy people, are not, however, in the first class; notwithstanding which, they are visited by many of the military, and by some of the company's civil servants; Mr. Jones having resigned a lieutenancy of artillery, in order to push his fortune in trade. Instances of this kind are not unfrequent. The letter from Mr. Freeman to Mr. Colvin (of the firm of Bane and Colvin, free merchants) procured me the usual attentions, besides the offer of money and the credit of the house, as far as I might have occasion for either.

In addition to the gentlemen before mentioned, I found at Calcutta an old Boston acquaintance, my friend Benjamin Joy, who came here from England on private speculation. We were frequently together, and the recollection of former scenes contributed not a little to the pleasure of our meeting. With him resided Mr. George Scott, a young gentleman also from Boston, who left New York with Mr. Randall and me, in 1786, with a view of getting employment in India. At Batavia we thought it advisable he should accept the offers made him by a Captain Fowler, and he accordingly went as his purser to Calcutta; but the owner of the ship becoming bankrupt, she was sold, and Mr. Scott left without any provision. Under these circumstances, he found a friend in Mr. Cotton, a passenger in the ship, and by his recommendation obtained a clerkship in the accountant-general's office, which affords him a genteel subsistence.

After being thus particular in mentioning the acquaintances made at Calcutta, I must not omit the reception I met from Earl Cornwallis, the governor-general. This nobleman, though sent out on the ungrateful business of making reformations, correcting abuses, and curtailing the expenses of former establishments, is, notwithstanding a faithful execution of the orders of his employers, the favorite not only of the inhabitants at large, but also of the company's servants, civil and military. His conduct has been so unexceptionable, and, as Shakspeare observes respecting Duncan, he "hath been so clear in his great office," that, after the instances of rapacity and peculation of which former governors have been guilty, his Lordship is justly the object of universal esteem. His levee is held every Tuesday morning, from nine to eleven o'clock, for the Europeans and strangers, and on Friday for the natives. Mr. Lambert attended me there, the second Tuesday after my arrival, and introduced me to Colonel Cockerell, the quartermaster-general, by whom I was presented to the governor. His Lordship received me in that easy manner which characterizes the courtier and the gentleman, and, after a few remarks common on such occasions, proceeded in his routine with the rest of the company. His public dinner is on Tuesday, and on the 8th of April I had the honor of dining with him. The same attention and politeness as at the levee marked his Lordship's conduct towards me, both before dinner and at table; which was not only agreeable to me, but gave much satisfaction to Mr. Lambert and his partner, Mr. Ross, who were also invited. A former card, for the preceding Tuesday, had been sent to me the day I set out to visit the foreign settlements. On these occasions his Lordship usually appears in his uniform, as a general officer, and with the insignia of his order, the star and garter.

On Monday afternoon, March 31st, Mr. Conyers and I set out for the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, about thirty miles up the river, in a commodious twelve-oared budgero, and arrived there at two o'clock the next morning, — Mr. Conyers's servant, with his buggy, a one-horse chaise, being directed to follow by land. After breakfasting at the tavern, we waited on Carl Blume, Esq., to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Lambert, and were by him presented to the governor, Mr. Titsingh, with whom we dined, passed the evening, and supped. After the cloth was removed, at supper, an express arrived for the governor, with the information that the late disputes in Holland had been amicably adjusted. The circumstance of the accommodation having been so favorable to the Prince of Orange is exceedingly displeasing to the gentlemen of this settlement, all of whom, excepting Mr. Titsingh, are violent republicans. At dinner, Mr. Van Hogendorp, whom, with his lady, I had seen at Batavia in 1786, also Mr. Crapp, whom I had seen in 1784 at Canton, renewed their acquaintance with me, and in the afternoon accompanied Mr. Conyers and me to pay our compliments to Madame, with whom we had the pleasure of taking tea. The next morning Mr. Conyers and I walked to Hoogly and Bandel, and returned to dinner at Mr. Van Hogendorp's. His lady plays exquisitely on the piano-forte, and had the goodness to entertain us half an hour before dinner with her performance. We passed the evening and supped with the Baron Van Haugwitz and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Van Hogendorp having taken us to their house *sans cérémonie.* Mr. Conyers and I were entertained at whist with the ladies, both of whom are endowed with the most agreeable manners. Madame la Baronne is a beautiful *brunette,* and has most bewitching eyes.

The situation of Chinsura is delightful, the gardens pleasant, the houses neat and commodious. The governor lives in the fort, which is entirely dismantled; there being allowed only a saluting-battery on the bank of the river, and a garrison, or rather guard, of sixty sepoys. The affairs of the Dutch company in this quarter are much on the decline. They have neither money nor credit. They had no ships last year, nor do they expect any this.

About one o'clock, April 3d, we went on board our budgero, and on awaking, between six and seven, found ourselves at anchor at Chandernagore. The late governor, M. Dangereux, to whom I had a letter from M. Montigny, the chief at Canton, having gone to Europe, and his successor residing at Ghurhutty, five miles distant, we paid our compliments to M. Frimon, the military commandant, a captain, who has a few sepoys as a guard, in the same manner as the Dutch at Chinsura. He resides in a bungalow, built on one of the ruined bastions of the fort taken by the English in 1757, and afterwards dismantled and demolished. In the course of our visit, the conversation turned on the adjustment of the disputes in Holland, when M. Frimon readily allowed that the republican party had great reason to be dissatisfied with their French friends. "We did," said he, "every thing in our power; but when we found that Prussia and England were determined, in good earnest, to support the Prince of Orange, and that a war between us and them would be inevitable, should we longer persist, we were obliged to give up the cause of the republicans with the best grace that we could." — Finding nothing to induce a longer stay at Chandernagore, we left at noon, dined in our budgero, and by sunset arrived at the Danish settlement of Serampore. Here we found our buggy, the servant having mistaken his orders, and, instead of going to Chinsura, remained all the time at this place. After supping at the tavern we returned to the budgero, it being our rule to sleep on board every night.

The next morning we waited on Mr. Scavenius, chief of the company's factory, to whom I had an introductory letter from Mr. Lambert. This gentleman presented us to Mr. Lefevre, the royal governor, who is a major in the army, and about thirty-five years of age. Madame Lefevre being indisposed, we had not the pleasure of seeing her ; but Mr. Wouldern, the second in the factory, introduced us to his lady, with whom we all dined, at Mr. Scavenius's. Mr. Kristing and Mr. Gothing, the king's agents, gave us an invitation for the day following ; but the period we had fixed for our return to Calcutta obliged us to decline it. In the afternoon, Mr. Conyers and I rode out in the buggy, to have a view of the neighbouring country. We passed the evening and supped with the same company as at dinner. Madame Wouldern is a *belle-blanche*, has engaging features, and a charming complexion, in which the lily and rose are happily blended. She is twenty-five years old, though, not having had any children, she preserves the freshness of eighteen ; her manners are easy, and marked by a most amiable and interesting simplicity. Though she has been two years in the country, she has not been either at Chinsura or Chandernagore, or even at Calcutta, — a circumstance at which I was astonished when she mentioned it. Her husband appears to be a good man, and I am much mistaken if they are not very happy together. He went from Serampore four years since, in order to get an appointment in the factory at Canton ;

but marrying this lady in Europe, he thought proper to relinquish that project, rather than separate from his bride, and therefore has brought her with him to this country ; — a measure which evidently proves his taste and good-sense, — for, as Yorick observes, "a man might lead such a creature as this round the world with him." It was not without regret that we left this good company, at midnight, and retired to our budgero.

Serampore, like the other settlements on the river, is agreeably situated. The Danes have two company ships annually from Europe to Tranquebar, one of which is thence sent to this place, where it arrives in August, and takes in the company's investment. The military make a rather more respectable figure here than at Chinsura or Chandernagore, though they have no great advantage in point of real force. The garrison is inconsiderable, and the battery on the river calculated only for salutes.

These three foreign settlements may be considered somewhat like the cities of refuge mentioned in Scripture, — so far as respects such of the Calcutta gentlemen as, from the importunity of creditors, find it necessary at times to shift the scene. Here they remain, unmolested, all the week ; and on Sundays those at Serampore can without fear revisit Calcutta. It would be an ill return for Mr. Titsingh's politeness to me, were I in this place to omit an anecdote respecting him, which, as a man, does him infinite honor. Mr. Bruere, a merchant of extensive concerns in Calcutta, having failed for a large amount, could not go to Serampore, as he was indebted to gentlemen there ; and he found it necessary to write to Mr. Titsingh, to know whether he might with safety repair to Chinsura. Mr. Titsingh's answer was to the following effect: — That he could not account for Mr. Bruere's application on any other principle than a fear that he might meet with trouble from the person himself to whom it was made. He therefore assured him, that, so far from giving him any cause for such apprehension, which could arise only from his being indebted to him, he would waive his claim altogether, and hoped Mr. Bruere would so far confide in him as to reside at his house till his affairs should be in such a train as to allow of his safe return to Calcutta. The invitation was accepted; but Mr. Titsingh did not stop here. On the payment of the first dividend to the creditors, he declared that he would receive no part of what was due to him, fifteen thousand sicca rupees, besides interest; but gave it to Mr. Bruere for the support of his young son, who, a short time previous to his father's failure, had been sent to Europe to receive his education.* An act which speaks so well for itself would be injured by any comment.

On Saturday, after breakfasting at the tavern, we crossed the river from Serampore, to the cantonment of English troops on the opposite side, called Barrakpur, whence we proceeded by land, in the buggy, fourteen miles, and arrived in Calcutta at noon; our budgero going down the river at the same time. The country on both sides is pleasant and fertile, and the view of elegant country-seats all the way enlivens the prospect, and gives it the appearance of a continued garden. The natives, through many of whose villages we passed, appear to enjoy both plenty and content.

---

* I had this account from Doctor Turnbull, of the Bengal establishment, brother to Mr. Turnbull before mentioned. A *sicca* rupee is two shillings and sixpence sterling.

The state of society at Calcutta is of late so much improved, that gentlemen who now come to India find no great difficulty in reconciling themselves to the idea of passing the remainder of their days there; especially those who bring families with them, or form connections on the spot. The style of living is so expensive, that even a single man must spend the amount of two or three fortunes before he can save enough to return, under easy circumstances, to Europe; and married people, unless they enjoy most lucrative appointments, or are extensively and successfully concerned in commerce, hardly expect such an event.* In short, a majority of the present inhabitants of Calcutta regard India as their home; and the emigrations from England, in which the fair sex make no inconsiderable figure, increase rapidly. Scarcely a ship arrives without three or four single ladies as passengers, who have either a married brother, an aunt, a sister, or a cousin, to receive and patronize them. Some of the wags have observed that the market is rather overstocked with this commodity. Without examining how far so uncourteous a remark is founded in truth, I will only say that I saw a list of *unmarried ladies*, seventy-two in number, all of them reputably connected, and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, many of whom, it is allowed, want neither external charms nor mental accomplishments, and are destitute only of the one thing needful, money. Unfortunately, this has now become as necessary an ingredient in the matrimonial cup in India as it is in other parts of the world; a circumstance which, whilst it tends greatly to the discouragement of a union that constitutes the chief happiness of life, serves not a little to favor a system which sentimental libertines miscall Platonic.

---

* Of the expenses, the servants' wages constitute a large part. No servant will do what properly belongs to another; — the man who cuts grass for your horse and feeds him will not clean or saddle him, nor will the one employed for the latter purposes give him his food; every horse has two attendants. Besides, servants are restrained by their religion from performing many of the common offices about house; and a man who will wash your feet will not put on or take off your table a dish of meat or soup, on account of his caste. This necessarily occasions a multiplicity of servants. Mr. Lambert's family consists only of himself, his brother, and Mr. Ross, his partner. They have seven horses, a post-chaise, a phaeton, and a buggy; each has also his palanquin, or chair. The number of servants they are obliged to keep amounts to *ninety-seven*; — I say *obliged*, because, on enumerating them and their occupations, we could not find a single supernumerary.

Among the public establishments at Calcutta are two banks; one called the General Bank of India, the other the Bengal Bank. Of the former Mr. Lambert is the deputy-chairman and principal manager. There is also an orphan society, of which Earl Cornwallis is governor, and six of the most respectable inhabitants are managers. With regard to religious assemblies, there is no want of them. The Portuguese, who are numerous, have several churches, — the Armenians, one, — and the English, at last, have one also, if it can be said to be yet finished. It is Episcopalian, and has been built by subscription; and as his Lordship, the governor-general, is a good Churchman, the military at least follow his example in attending divine worship. Private business, however, does not stop on Sunday, as the natives, and the Chinese, of whom there are great numbers in the settlement, do not specially regard that day.

Having remained at Calcutta till the 23d of April, I that evening took leave of my good friend Mr. Lambert, his brother, and Mr. Ross, intending to go on shipboard; but the appearance of an approaching northwester, which shortly after came on with great violence, induced me to accept Mr. Turnbull's invitation to supper, and Mr. Lambert did us the favor to be of the party. I lodged at the house of my friends Joy and Scott, and the next morning, after breakfasting with Mr. Macan and Mr. Benezet, at the house of the former, we went on board together, and the ship came to sail. These gentlemen belong to the company's civil service, and are going to Madras for the benefit of their health. Mr. Macan is custom-master for the port, and a few days previous to our departure was introduced to my acquaintance by Mr. Lambert, when he gave me an invitation to dinner, which I accepted.

Besides the constant attentions I experienced from Mr. Lambert, he furnished me with the printed articles of the present insurance company, and the rates of insurance ; also manuscript copies of the articles of an insurance company lately under his own direction ; together with the articles of the Tontine, or society for the benefit of survivors, — a society still existing. From the statistics of this institution some idea may be formed of the measure of health enjoyed in the settlement. It was organized on the 1st of March, 1785, to continue for the term of five years, the number of members being upwards of fifty. Since that time it has increased to one hundred and three, without a single death to the day I received this information, the 20th of April, 1788. — In addition to these papers, Mr. Lambert presented me with Doctor Watson's Chemical Essays, a valuable work in four small volumes. I had nothing to give him in return but an American engraving of the siege of Yorktown, and the Institution of the Cincinnati, with some pamphlets for and against that order, which he did me the favor to accept. It was natural that I should leave this gentleman with regret, and a lively impression of the value of his friendship. He has my best wishes, and it is not without pleasure that I indulge the hope of again meeting him, some day or other, either in America or in Europe.

It being late in the monsoon when we sailed from Calcutta, the pilot did not leave us till the 7th of May. I improved the opportunity of his return to write to Mr. Lambert and Mr. Joy. On the 4th of June we anchored off the Car Nicobar, went ashore in the afternoon of the 5th, and sailed again the next day. Here I had the pleasure of meeting Captain Adams, with whom I had been acquainted last year at Canton. He was going to build a ship at Pegu, and left the island the same day we did. A small French vessel was also there, bound from Pegu to the Coast; but, not being able to beat against the monsoon, had been there one month, and would be obliged to remain as much longer. The trade of this island is altogether in cocoa-nuts, which the natives sell to country ships, that carry them to Pegu, where they will always procure a full cargo of teak timber. This timber is said to be the best in the world for ship-building, as vessels constructed of it are now running that have been kept employed upwards of sixty years. Its peculiar excellency, besides its strength, is a certain oiliness in the grain, which effectually preserves the iron bolts and nails from rust. On these accounts, it meets with a ready sale at Calcutta, Bombay, and other settlements on both sides of the peninsula.

The inhabitants of the Car Nicobar seem to be the happiest people in the world, if a state of nature is allowed to be a state of happiness. Cocoa-nuts and yams form their principal food; in addition to which they have hogs, poultry, and fish in abundance. Their swine, being fed with cocoa-nuts, make the best pork I have ever tasted; the pigs are particularly delicious. The men have no clothing, — unless a small girdle round the waist, one end of which is drawn tight between the legs and tucked up behind, can be called such. The women wear a short petticoat, and a small piece of cotton cloth bound over their breasts. Their huts are circular, raised on stakes, and terminating in a point. Clusters of a dozen or twenty of these together, as the situation may admit, form cantonments, of which there are several along the shore; and the government, if they can be said to have any, is of the patriarchal kind. Though almost in the midst of the torrid zone, the air is constantly cooled by refreshing sea-breezes. Nothing can exceed the agility of the men in climbing the cocoa-nut trees. They put their feet into a string, or withe, so as to keep them from spreading too far asunder, then setting them against the tree, and extending their arms as high as they can reach round its trunk, they, at every hitch, go their whole length; and, from my own observation, I have no doubt that one of these people would climb the tallest tree while a person, at a common pace, could go the same length on the ground. It is impossible for people to be more gentle than these islanders. They seem to possess much of the milk of human kindness; and though they frequently see Europeans, and have sometimes suffered by their rapacity, yet they still continue strangers to the passions attending a more civilized state. This is the concurrent testimony of those who have been repeatedly among them, and is the more extraordinary, as the inhabitants of the Andamans, a cluster of islands but a few degrees to the northward, are cannibals.

After leaving the Nicobars, and going to the southward to within less than one degree of the line, we were unable to fetch Pulicat, situated between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude, until the 1st of July; and though in sight of Madras, it was not till the 3d, in the afternoon, that we could anchor in its road. Captain Fowle and I, with Mr. Macan and Mr. Benezet, went ashore the same evening, — these two gentlemen to the houses of their friends, and the captain and I to the tavern, which I made my quarters till the 14th, in the evening, when I embarked for Canton.

To give a particular account of Madras would be to repeat a considerable portion of what has been already remarked respecting Bengal; with this exception, however, that the former is evidently on the decline, so far as regards commerce, whilst the latter is increasing in every species of opulence with a rapidity that is astonishing. Not only Madras, but, as I have been informed, Bombay, and the other English settlements on the coast, as well as Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, are inadequate to their own maintenance, and are supported from the surplus of the Bengal revenue. In a military view, Bombay and Madras are of the utmost importance to the company, as the former has a safe harbour, where the largest ships may be refitted and repaired, and the latter gives them the command of the coast of Coromandel, and secures the Carnatic. The defences at Madras are good, and the army is so respectable as to render the English possessions on that side of India perfectly secure.

Madras is divided into two districts; the one called Fort St. George, where the officers of government and the English inhabitants reside, — though most of them have also country-houses; the other denominated the Black Town, as being the residence of the natives, and also of the Portuguese, and other strangers. The houses in Fort St. George are large and commodious, built in the European style; while those without the walls are more on the plan of country-houses. The face of the country in the neighbourhood of Madras is pleasant, and more varied than that about Calcutta; and a number of elegant country-seats diversify the scene, and render an afternoon's ride peculiarly agreeable. Notwithstanding its more southerly situation, the heat at Madras is not so intense as at Calcutta, or at Canton; the air being cooled by the land-winds in the evening and during the night; and these succeeded by the sea-breeze, emphatically called *the Doctor*, which regularly comes in about ten o'clock in the morning.

It is a general observation, that there is a manifold difference between Bengal and Madras, in respect to the attention paid to strangers; insomuch, that gentlemen at the former settlement are cautious of giving their friends letters of introduction to those of the latter. Mr. Lambert, however, gave me an open letter to his correspondents, Amos and Bowden, merchants there, and I had no reason to complain of the behaviour of those gentlemen towards me; it was unreserved and friendly, and it was with pleasure I accepted their civilities, and those of Mrs. Amos. Besides these gentlemen, Mr. Hall, a merchant, and an acquaintance of Captain Fowle, was particularly attentive to me, with whom and Mrs. Hall I had the pleasure of dining twice. I also met there Mr. Davies and Mr. Girez, two gentlemen who go annually to China, and with whom I had been acquainted at Canton; with the former I dined twice, and with their friend Mr. Young once.

With respect to the grandees at Madras, the *cool politeness* of one of that class towards me prevented me from making any acquaintance with them. Previously to my departure from Canton, Mr. George Smith gave me a sealed letter to his friend Josias Du Pré Porcher, Esq., who, he said, would be happy to pay me every attention. This letter, the morning after my arrival, I sent to its address, and in about two hours Mr. Porcher made me a visit. He thanked me, in a formal way, for the letter I had brought him, but neither told me where he lived, nor intimated a wish to become acquainted, nor made a tender either of his services or civilities. After a few minutes of that kind of conversation which commonly passes between strangers on such occasions, Mr. Porcher took leave; and as, on a full consideration of these circumstances, I had no right to suppose that he was desirous of seeing me at his house, I regarded his visit merely in the light of postage for the letter, and gave myself no further trouble about him. Mr. Porcher is a merchant, a man of property, and said to be a person of fashion and politeness; but as to the last point, I am not ready to allow it. He was the only company's servant to whom I had a letter; and owing to his neglect, *at least*, of the rules of good-breeding, I saw neither the governor nor any other member of the administration; for, as nobody offered to present me, I did not think proper to attend the levee, with simply, *Me voici!* Amos and Bowden were good men, but I believe not much in that line; and when, on being acquainted with Doctor Turnbull, brother of my Bengal friend, I mentioned the matter to him, he censured Mr. Porcher's conduct, and was solicitous to introduce me to the acquaintance of his friends Corbet and Boyd, who he said he was certain would be happy in having an opportunity of presenting me to the governor, and contributing every thing in their power to render my stay at Madras agreeable to me. Though I was sensible of Doctor Turnbull's attention on this point, I did not think proper to avail myself of it; and he was considerate enough to admit my excuse.

Among other persons whom I met here, I renewed my acquaintance with Captain O'Donnell, who, in the year 1784, at Canton, chartered part of his ship to Mr. Randall and me for America, Mr. Randall going with him. Shortly after his arrival in America, Captain O'Donnell married at Baltimore, and has now come to India to settle his affairs. He left Madras for Bengal on the 8th of July, expecting to be there again, to sail for America, in December. Previously to his departure, I gave him a letter of introduction to my friend General Knox, in America.

When the Argyle left Calcutta, it was intended that she should go to Tranquebar, Pondicherry, Madras, and Vizagapatam; at which last place she was to take in rice and proceed to China. But the season was too far advanced to allow of our reaching to the southward of Madras, and the ship had yet so much of her voyage to perform, that there was no probability of her arriving in Canton till the beginning of November. Under these circumstances, I applied to Captain John Robinson, on the 7th of July, for a passage to Canton in the ship Clive, under his command; and though cotton-loaded, and with two passengers already engaged (Mr. Davies and Doctor Turnbull, the latter very sick), he consented to accommodate me. The letters I had received from Mr. Scavenius, to the chief and another of his friends at Tranquebar, being sealed, I transmitted them under cover of one from myself to the chief, on the 6th instant, by post; and the same day I wrote to Mr. Scavenius and to Mr. Lambert, by the snow Cornwallis, Captain Ede. The letter from M. Montigny to his friend at Pondicherry, and another to the late chief of Chandernagore, being both open, and concerning only myself, I shall take back to that gentleman, with my thanks. On the 9th, Captain Fowle went on board his ship to sail for Pondicherry, Messrs. Thompson and Roberts, late officers under Captain Metcalf in a brig from New York, being with him. These gentlemen, on account of some disagreement with the captain, had left their vessel, and come from Calcutta in the Argyle, Mr. Turnbull having given them their passage. It is their wish to get to America by the way of Canton, and, as they had behaved in an unexceptionable manner, I promised to give either of them, as they should settle it between themselves, a passage on board the ship in which I expect to return. On the 11th I wrote a letter to my friend Samuel Parkman, of Boston, to go by a ship belonging to that port, commanded by Captain Roberts, which was then gone to the northward, and was expected back to sail from Madras, on her return, some time in October. On the 12th I wrote to my friend Benjamin Joy, at Calcutta, and gave the letter to Captain Maughan, bound there in a few days. The 13th, being Sunday, I went to church. On the 14th I dined with Captain Robinson, and Mr. Cox, the owner of his ship, at the country-house of their friend Mr. Turing, who had desired them to bring me with them, and treated me with that genuine politeness and hospitality which ever mark the gentleman. I must not omit to mention, however, that he is a company's servant, notwithstanding which he declared his obligation to me for accepting his *sans-cérémonie* invitation, as it was only that morning he had learned from Mr. Cox that I was in the settlement. The behaviour of this gentleman was quite the reverse of that of Mr. Porcher, and, on his inquiring how I liked Madras, my companions informed him of the little reason that I had to be pleased with it. There were other gentlemen at table, and they did not let Mr. Porcher's conduct pass without some severe, and I think just, animadversions. The same evening, Captain Robinson, Mr. Davies, and I, went on board (Doctor Turnbull having gone in the forenoon), and the next morning at four o'clock the ship came to sail.

In contemplating the progress and present state of the European establishments in India, it is most pleasing to observe that the interests of humanity receive so great a portion of the attention of its rulers. The colleges for orphans at Batavia have already been noticed, as also the orphan society at Calcutta. At Madras there is a Female Asylum, which owes its institution to Lady Campbell, wife of Sir Archibald, the governor and commander-in-chief. Of this establishment Sir Archibald is the president, the first four members of the administration are vice-presidents, and eight of the most respectable of the military, civil, and clerical servants of the company, governors. The directresses are Lady Campbell (who is also styled patroness) and twelve of the principal ladies of the settlement. The names of these establishments sufficiently indicate the benevolent design of their institution, which cannot fail to be productive of the most extensive good, not only to such as are the immediate objects of them, but to society at large.

As respects the natives of India, it may be observed that the austerities practised by them, at the present day, are sufficient to countenance the most seemingly improbable relations that have been given of what they will endure for the sake of their religion. It is said that a Hindoo will sometimes, by way of penance, crawl on his belly the whole length of the Ganges, following it through all its windings, from its source to its mouth; another will extend his arm, and, vowing never to draw it in again, keep it in that position till his death; while a third, locking his hands together, will suffer the nails of each to penetrate the back of the other, and in that manner rivet them inseparably. I am not traveller enough to have seen an instance of either of these practices, but I was witness to one which may seem almost as incredible. Previously to their principal festivals, parties of the religious devotees go about beating up for volunteers, who place the point of honor in the firmness with which they will bear pain. Some will carry an iron spear, thrust through their tongue, their cheeks, or other parts of their body, for days together; while others will cheerfully undergo the painful operation of the swing. I was present at one of these spectacles, in Calcutta. A post is erected, on which is an iron spindle that receives a long pole, placed diagonally, one end of which comes near to the ground, while the other is elevated seventy or eighty degrees. From the upper end depends a chain with a large hook, which is forced through the fleshy parts of the devotee's back, who, amidst the acclamations of his countrymen, is in an instant suspended at the utmost elevation of the pole, while a party having hold of the lower end, to which ropes are purposely fastened, make it fly round with the greatest velocity. While this is doing, the happy victim takes his turban, and, deliberately unfolding it, waves it triumphantly over the heads of his applauding countrymen, among whom, from time to time, he scatters flowers, with which he previously takes care to provide himself. After this, he makes up his turban, replaces it on his head, and is taken down. I saw four go through this exercise, one of whom remained suspended upwards of seven minutes ; and I had the curiosity to examine two of them, both when they were hooked and when they were taken down, and was satisfied that there was no deception.

The jugglers in India are very remarkable, and perform many feats with astonishing dexterity. Some of them have tamed the most venomous serpents, so as to render them perfectly innocent ; and I have seen one of these people wind a snake twelve feet long round his naked body, and, bringing its head to his mouth, blow and spit upon it without the least fear, while the animal would hiss, dart its tongue, and swell with indignation at the treatment it received.

On Sunday, July 27th, our ship anchored off Queda, where the purser and second mate were sent on shore ; but there being no tin to be had there, we sailed the next day, and on Tuesday evening anchored off Pulo Pinang. On Wednesday, Mr. Griffiths, the intimate friend of Captain Robinson and Doctor Turnbull, with his partner, Mr. Gray, whom I had seen here on my way to Bengal, came on board to dinner, and insisted that Mr. Davies and I should take up our quarters at their house, in company with Captain Robinson and Doctor Turnbull. We readily accepted this friendly invitation, and remained with them till Tuesday following. It was pleasant to observe the progress made in this settlement in the short space of six months; the number of inhabitants being greatly increased, as was also the trade. Messrs. Griffiths and Gray transact a large portion of the business carried on here, and appear to be making money fast. They have the best house on the island, built since Mr. Gray's arrival, and take a pleasure in making it agreeable to strangers. The attention paid us by these gentlemen, and by Mrs. Gray, while we were their guests, interests us much in their welfare; especially Mr. Davies and myself, who were strangers to them, and by whom they will ever be remembered with pleasure and affection. The late commodore, Captain Pickett, has been succeeded on the station by Captain Dixon, with three company's cruisers under his command. The governor, Mr. Light, received me with his usual hospitality; his family having the addition of Mr. Farley and Mr. Hawkins, from Canton, who, not belonging to the factory, were prohibited, by the late regulations, from remaining either there or at Macao. A Mr. Hope, from Calcutta, but last from Batavia, arrived the day before we left the island, to settle there as a merchant. Mr. Elmer and he mentioned two American vessels, Captains Barry and Truxton, as having passed the Straits of Banca for Canton. We took leave of our friends on the 5th of August, Doctor Turnbull remaining with them for the benefit of his health.

The 17th of August we anchored in the road of Malacca. In the afternoon, the captain, Mr. Davies, and I, went ashore and took lodgings at the tavern. The same evening we attended the wedding of a captain of one of the Dutch company's cruisers and a country-born Portuguese, where we were entertained much to our satisfaction. The next day we made our visit to the governor, and the following morning returned on board and came to sail.

Malacca, from being not long since the emporium of the straits and the neighbouring coasts, is now dwindled to a mere place of refreshment. It has been for several years gradually declining, under the ill fortune which has attended the company's affairs throughout India generally ; and the recent establishment of the English at Pulo Pinang has given the finishing stroke to its commercial existence.

The women at Malacca are chiefly country-born, and in their dress resemble those of Batavia ; though the same cannot be said respecting their manners. They are exceedingly vulgar, and fond of frolicking to an extreme. At their dancing parties they drink vast quantities of beer, wine, and gin, chew betel and areca the greater part of the time, eat a hot supper, then go to dancing again, and seldom leave the house till three or four o'clock in the morning. This mode of conduct renders them libertine to such a degree as to banish from the minds of their male companions every idea of respect or delicacy, I had almost said decency, towards them. At the wedding just mentioned, though ladies of the first class were present, yet the *filles-de-joie* of the captains of ships from India to Canton, who leave them here till their return, were not excluded. On the contrary, they board in respectable families, where they are companions for the mistress of the house ; and I was not a little surprised, on visiting two ladies of the first rank in the settlement, the forenoon after the wedding, to find one of these creatures, a mixture of Malay and Indian-Portuguese, passing the day with them, *tête-à-tête.*

Monday, the 8th of September, we anchored in the road of Macao, at five, P. M., when the second mate, Mr. Davies, and I, went on shore. The Dutch and Swedes were gone to Canton. I visited the French, supped with the Danes, at Mr. Vogelsang's, lodged at Mr. Freeman's, and returned on board the next day to dinner. At Macao I received a letter from P. N. Smith, Esq., merchant, of New York, dated the 24th of November last, and inclosing one of the 21st from Mr. Randall, my friend and partner. Our pilot did not come on board till the evening of the 11th. On the 15th, at two, P. M., we anchored at Whampoa, and the next day Captain Robinson, Mr. Davies, and I, came to Canton.

Having thus finished my tour, it is with pleasure I reflect on the many agreeable circumstances attending it; among which is not to be considered as the least the good society I found with Captain Fowle, Captain Robinson, and their officers, as also with my fellow-passengers. It is impossible for people to have had more reason for mutual satisfaction. Passages in country ships are frequently attended with embarrassing circumstances, from its not being the general custom for their commanders to receive money, though they do not refuse a present of adequate value. Captain Fowle and I, however, came to an explanation before I embarked in his ship, and I paid him, at Canton, two hundred dollars for my passage to Bengal; and, previously to leaving Calcutta, four hundred sicca rupees to bring me back again. With Captain Robinson, at Madras, I could make no terms. He was happy, he said, to accommodate me; and his deportment during the whole voyage amply proved it. Fortunately, I had an elegant travelling-case and a portable kitchen, which, the season before, had cost me one hundred and sixty-four dollars, and he did me the favor to accept them, as a token of my gratitude and esteem.

RETURN TO CANTON,

AND

VOYAGE HOMEWARD.

RETURN TO CANTON,

AND

VOYAGE HOMEWARD.

I HAD the pleasure, on my arrival here, to find three vessels from America, — the Asia and Canton, Captains Barry and Truxton, from Philadelphia; and the Jenny, Captain Thompson, from New York. My letters by the Jenny informed me that two others were expected; the General Washington, from Rhode Island, — and the Jay, the late Hope, from New York, commanded by my friend and partner, Captain Randall. Both these ships left America in December, for Madeira, the coast of India, and China. It was the 28th of October when the Washington anchored at Whampoa, from Madras; the letters by which ship, from Mr. Randall, at Madeira, mentioning the delays to which the merchants there subjected him, gave me but too much reason to apprehend that he would lose his season. Besides these vessels, a ship, with a sloop as tender, had been fitted out from Boston, to go round Cape Horn to the northwest coast of America for furs, with which they were to proceed to China, and return by the Cape of Good Hope. I am sorry that I cannot mention the arrival of either of them at this place. A small English vessel from the Northwest Coast reported that the tender had arrived there, having parted from the ship in a severe snow-storm in the latitude of 57° south. In addition to all these, there is a brig called the Eleonora, Captain Metcalf, from New York, which, on common principles, ought to have finished her voyage there last June. With a cargo of furs, instead of coming directly to China, the last season, Captain Metcalf went to the coast of Coromandel, Bengal, and thence to Batavia; from which last place he arrived, early in the present season, among the islands in the neighbourhood of Macao. There he remained, sending his furs to Canton, to Mr. Beale,* as he could find occasion, by other ships, till some time in December, when he was boarded by a gang of Ladrones, Chinese thieves, living among these islands, thence called Ladrone islands, and had two of his officers killed before he could beat them off. As he is not under the protection either of the Portuguese or the Chinese, and has never made any application to me, the consul of his nation, I cannot form any idea of his intentions.

The list of shipping, to the 20th of January, 1789, is as follows: —

---

* This gentleman was not long since a purser of an English company ship, but is now *Prussian consul*, and partner of Mr. Cox. The latter, in consequence of the recent regulations, could no longer, as an English subject, stay in Canton, but was obliged, at the close of the last season, to embark for England; while Mr. Beale, now become a *Prussian*, as such, in defiance of his late country, remains unmolested.

English,*	21
Swedish,	2
Danish,	2
French,	1
Dutch,	4
Spanish,	2
American,	4
	36
Portuguese, at Macao,	7
To pass the Cape of Good Hope,	43
Country ships bound back to India,	24
English ships in the neighbourhood of Macao,†	5
American brig Eleonora, do. do.	1

Although the English shipping is not so numerous as it was the last season, yet, should the four expected vessels arrive,‡ the tonnage, on the whole, it is thought, will not fall short of what it then was.

The war in Formosa and the adjacent country being closed, and the greatest plenty in the article of rice having succeeded to the scarcity of the last two years, these circumstances have had a favorable influence on the trade of the present season. Teas are much more abundant than they were then, and the price of the finer sorts is reduced fifteen or twenty per cent. There is a fallacy, however, in this reduction of price; for the Chinese, finding the demand for fine teas annually increasing, have adulterated them in such a manner as to render them inferior, generally, to what in 1783 and 1784 were termed the best second chop.* The consumption of tea in the western world has increased astonishingly. In 1784, it was estimated for Great Britain and its dependencies at fourteen million pounds' weight; not one half of which was supplied by their own ships.† The commutation of the duty on tea, since that period, has enabled the English to drink it at a nominally reduced rate; and in the year 1786, the company's sales alone, in the months of March, May, June, September, and December, exceeded *fifteen million six hundred thousand net pounds*, of the various kinds, the common Bohea being rather more than one third of this quantity; the whole amounting, in value, to upwards of *two million three hundred thousand pounds sterling.* On a comparative view of the shipping employed in 1784 – 5, and 1787 – 8, the increase is amazing. The exports of tea, of the various sorts, on the company's account, by the English ships alone, for the last-mentioned year, make an aggregate of one hundred and sixty-one thousand three hundred and three piculs, amounting to *twenty-one million five hundred and seven thousand and sixty-six net pounds English avoirdupois.* The other companies have made no material alterations in the quantity of their shipping.

---

* Three of these are small vessels, from 250 to 400 tons, from Botany Bay, and another of 120 tons from the northwest coast of America, freighted on the terms mentioned *ante*, p. 250. The remaining ships are large; none being less than 800, some 1,000, and two taken at 1,160 tons. There are also four others, of 800 tons and upwards, expected from Bombay and Madras, by the eastern route.

† A small ship, two snows, a brig, and a sloop.

‡ When bound to Bengal, last season, in the Argyle, an English company ship, by the eastern route, from Bombay, passed us at Second Bar, the 19th of January.

It was expected, in consequence of the increased shipping employed by the English, that the commerce of the

---

* Here this word, *chop*, signifies *quality*.

† See *ante*, p. 171.

Danes and Swedes would suffer considerable diminution. These nations, however, have not yet realized any inconvenience on that score; especially as a large part of their fine teas were last year sold at an advanced price, for the Russian consumption.

The Dutch, for the last three or four years, have labored under great disadvantages, owing to their not sending from Europe a sufficiency of specie; their company having depended too far upon remittances to be made from India to Europe through the medium of their treasury. This has obliged their supercargoes to draw bills on the company, which, being given to the Chinese merchants, are by them disposed of, at a discount of twenty or twenty-five per cent. This business is called *transfer*, and has introduced a kind of stock-jobbing which cannot fail of being highly injurious to the interests of the company.

The mode of transfer used by the Dutch has also been practised by the English, who, notwithstanding their importation of specie from England the last two years, to the amount of *seven hundred thousand pounds annually*, and the remittances from Bengal, have been obliged to adopt this expedient. Formerly, all the remittances from British subjects in India to Europe passed through the company's treasury; the exchange for a dollar, which is intrinsically worth only 4s. 6d., rising gradually from 4s. 9d. to 5s. 6d. sterling, payable at three hundred and sixty-five days' sight. The exchange for the present season is 5s. 4d., a reduction which has greatly tended to throw the money into the treasuries of the Danes and Swedes, who give 5s. 6d., and draw their bills payable in London at eight months' sight. Individuals, therefore, who have money at option, either pay it to these nations or wait the opportunity of purchasing transfer. The Chinese merchant, who is ever loath to part with ready money, contracts for a cargo of cotton, or other merchandise, and engages to pay for it in transfer, at a certain discount; which discount is a clear profit to the seller, over and above what he could obtain, were it not for this transfer. Ultimately, this is a tax on the respective companies; for the Chinese understand calculation, and, by advancing one or two taels a picul on their fine teas, turn the balance amply in their own favor. In barter transactions, the discount on English transfer is about ten per cent.; but it has not unfrequently happened, that, for ready money, the Chinese merchant has discounted twenty. While the company suffer by this mode of stock-jobbing, it is no small aggravation of the evil, that it has been brought about chiefly by some of their own immediate servants at Canton; who, contrary to their engagements, not only implied but expressed, have made large sums of money by this iniquitous traffic. Indeed, this has become so notorious, that several of them have this season embarked for England; it being a tacit convention, that they might, by making a resignation of the service their voluntary act now, prevent an otherwise impending dismission. The increasing magnitude of the English trade with Canton, the most lucrative of all their Asiatic commerce, induces the gentlemen of that nation to believe that the company meditate some important changes in the present system of conducting it.

The French and Spaniards are in no want of money. The former, having had only one ship this season, have a surplus fund of more than *two hundred thousand dollars* in specie alone. Upon what principle of finance this arrangement was made it would puzzle a Sully or a Necker to determine.

January 23d, 1789. Leaving the commerce of other nations, it is time now to make a few observations upon that of our own.

The Asia arrived the 7th of July last, and sailed the 7th instant. Her supercargoes, Jonathan Mifflin, Esq., and Mr. John Frazier, having letters to Mr. Chalmers, the Swedish chief, were by that gentleman recommended to the Chinese merchant Houqua, to whom they sold as much of their ginseng as was good for one hundred and twenty dollars a picul, and gave him some money with it, how much I know not; but Mr. Frazier told me, shortly after my arrival, that he had offered the whole of his supply of that article at seventy dollars, and forty thousand dollars in money, to old Chowqua, who declined any concern with it. Shykinkoa would do nothing. When the English gentlemen came from Macao, Mr. Pigou, to whom my countrymen had letters of recommendation, obtained from England and sent after them by the Jenny, on being told by them that they had contracted with Houqua, replied that they might as well have thrown their property into the sea. These particulars I had as well from Mr. Pigou as from Messrs. Mifflin and Frazier. The justice of Mr. Pigou's remark was soon verified. The ginseng, which Houqua bought at a hundred and twenty dollars, and which was chargeable with a duty of sixty more to the hoppo, he was selling at one hundred dollars (China price), being eighty less than it cost. He delayed performing his contract, — absented himself almost continually from his hoang, — smoked opium, — absconded on the 24th of December, — was declared bankrupt, and his effects were seized.

The following minute, which I made the 27th of December, will show the sequel. "Yesterday forenoon Mr. Mifflin called on me, and, after a few minutes' conversation, detailed his situation relative to Houqua. After taking notice of the misfortune his concern had been exposed to from being connected with Houqua, he declared that it was no longer than twelve days ago that Mr. Chalmers advised him to give *all* his money to Houqua. On expressing my astonishment at the circumstance, he repeated what he had before said, and added that this was only *seven* or *eight* days previous to Houqua's running away. He then observed, that, though Houqua was in their debt six thousand dollars, they had in their hands, as security, notes given by Mr. Harrison, supercargo of the Alliance, for goods taken of Houqua, the last year, to three times this amount; and concluded by hoping they might shortly get away, as Shykinkoa had undertaken to finish their business. He begged my permission, which was readily granted, to lodge some money in our factory for Shykinkoa, because he was unwilling to be seen receiving it from Mr. Mifflin's factory, which belonged to Houqua." The supercargoes afterwards received merchandise from the co-hoang,* by order of the hoppo, and were obliged to give up to them Mr. Harrison's notes, for the benefit of Houqua's creditors, as appears by my certificate, as follows: — "In Monqua's house, January 7th, 1789, I saw Messrs. Mifflin and Frazier deliver to Monqua Mr. Harrison's notes for $ 18,605, and $ 1,310, — in all, $ 19,915, — when Houqua, being present, consented to the transfer, and declared that he had no demands against those gentlemen or their employers. — S. SHAW, *Consul for the United States of America.*"

---

* Their names are Chowqua, Shykinkoa, Monqua (president), Pinqua, Geouqua, Equa, Houqua, Pankekoa's sons.

The Canton, after stopping at Batavia, arrived on the 10th of August, and sailed with the Asia. Her captain and Mr. Frazier having been here before, the supercargoes, Mr. Wilcox and Mr. McCall, did their business with Equa and Lysingsang, to whom they sold their ginseng for eighty dollars. What money they gave, or what goods they received, I know not; as I made it a rule not to question any of these gentlemen concerning their business.

I should add, that Messrs. Mifflin and Frazier, Wilcox and McCall, all of them expressed to me the obligations they were under to Mr. Pigou for his interference and assistance, without which, they declared, they did not know what time their ships could have got away.

The Jenny arrived the 29th of August, without any supercargo, and is now ready to sail. The captain and doctor, Mr. Caldwell, were recommended to Parkin and Smith, of the English house, to whom they brought a remittance from Lynch and Stoughton, on account of teas furnished the Canton, at respondentia, on her last voyage, by Lysingsang, commonly called the Black Doctor. Parkin and Smith, not caring to act ostensibly as supercargoes, prevailed on the captain and doctor to give themselves out as such, and promised to assist them with their advice. How far their advice has been salutary Lynch and Stoughton will be the best judges, on the Jenny's return. They put all their ginseng, upwards of sixty thousand weight, at seventy dollars a picul, into the hands of Lysingsang, together with thirty thousand dollars in money. This fellow, not being a hoang merchant, trades under Equa's chop. Equa, of course, was security to the hoppo for the duties which would be due from Lysingsang, who in a short time became embarrassed in his affairs, kept himself out of the way, was taken into confinement in the city, and at last, after, as Dr. Caldwell expressed it, telling nine lies to one truth, in the whole course of their transactions, has given them merchandise to the *nominal* amount of their demand.

The Washington, Captain Donnison, arrived the 28th of October, and is now ready to sail. The supercargo, Samuel Ward, Esq., and I having known each other in America, it was with pleasure we renewed our acquaintance at Canton, and we agreed, as I was alone, to occupy quarters together. His ginseng, though of a bad quality, and arriving when the market was glutted, was disposed of at sixty-five dollars a picul. For the amount of this ginseng, one hundred and forty piculs, and thirteen thousand dollars in specie, he received from Monqua the best of Bohea tea at the market price. The funds of this ship not being adequate to procuring the whole of a suitable return cargo, Mr. Ward and I entered into articles for freighting the remaining room with merchandise on account of Mr. Randall and myself. This measure was now (in December) become necessary to me, as the Jay could not, in common probability, be expected to save her season ; and the arrangements I made last year for building a ship in America render my presence there, with additional funds, the ensuing summer, absolutely indispensable. Having effected the credit for this business, entirely independently of the Jay's concerns, I shall leave the necessary information for Mr. Randall, and embark with Mr. Ward the day after to-morrow.

Perhaps the following may be nearly a just statement of the ginseng brought to market this season : —

Asia,	400 piculs.	
Canton,	300 "	
Jenny,	450 "	
Washington,	140 "	
English company ship Talbot,	200 "	
		——1490
As the captain of the Talbot speculated for all the ginseng he could purchase in England, it will be a large allowance, if for the remaining ships, and those of other nations, we add five hundred piculs, — say,		510

This will make the total two thousand piculs, which is only two hundred more than the importation of 1786. To what the reduction in the price of this article has been owing I will not undertake to say, as the contracts for the three first-named vessels were all concluded before I arrived from Calcutta. Certain it is, that the ships from our country have never brought so large a portion of their funds in ready money. If it is necessary that the Americans should drink tea, it will readily be granted that they ought to employ the means most proper for procuring it on the best terms. The experience of nearly a century has convinced the Europeans of the utility of managing their commerce with this country by national companies and with large ships. How far it may be proper for America to imitate their example, and regulate the exportation of her ginseng, must ultimately be determined by her own experience.

The payment of a yearly dividend, by the Chinese, to the *English* creditors of three Chinese merchants, who became bankrupts between 1774 and 1779, being rather an extraordinary matter, as no other foreign creditors of these merchants have had any relief granted them, I have been at some pains to acquire a knowledge of the affair, and have perused all the papers relating to it, from which I have gathered the following particulars.

Mr. John Crichton, who resided at Canton as a private merchant and agent from the year 1768 to 1774, had, during that period, loaned to three of the capital trading-houses large sums of money, at twenty per cent. interest; the bonds for which, including both principal and interest, having been annually renewed, at length amounted to an enormous sum. Supposing his fortune to be made, two thirds whereof remained in the hands of these Chinese, Mr. Crichton, in 1774, left Canton for Europe, having passed upwards of seventeen years in Asia. After his arrival in England, not finding his remittances from China regular, but on the contrary very uncertain, he, at the expiration of four years, judged it necessary to return. At Madras, he found some of the creditors, and agents for the others, who agreed upon a plan of sending him to China, as their joint agent, to endeavour to obtain redress from the government of Canton for the losses they had sustained by the failure of those three houses, which was evidently attended with many fraudulent circumstances. They accordingly joined him in a memorial to the hoppo, or superintendent of the customs at Canton, in which they requested that new bonds might be given, and offered to reduce the interest from that time to twelve per cent., — praying, that thenceforward the interest and one twelfth part of the principal might be paid annually, until the whole should be discharged. Besides this memorial to the hoppo, Mr. Crichton wrote a letter to Pankekoa individually, and another to him and the merchants of the co-hoang collectively, stating his grievances, recommending his cause and that of his constituents to their consideration, and begging their assistance.

Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Vernon, who was then commander of his Majesty's fleet in India, was also applied to, in order that he, as his Majesty's representative, should ask redress from the Chinese government for the subjects of the king, his master, who had suffered by the bankruptcy of these Chinese merchants, and who, by the laws and customs of China, were restrained from seeking and obtaining it by personal application to the Chinese courts of justice. Sir Edward readily entered into the views of Mr. Crichton and the agents, and engaged to send Captain Panton with the Sea-Horse frigate to Canton, to make the requisition. For these good offices, the agents engaged to give Sir Edward a tenth part of the amount recovered. The correspondence between them, commencing with Mr. Crichton's letter to Sir Edward, occasioned also a correspondence with the governor and council of Madras. These papers succeed each other in the following order, and show the proceedings of the parties till the sailing of the Sea-Horse, with Captain Panton and Mr. Crichton, for Canton.

July 8th. Letter from Mr. Crichton to Sir Edward Vernon, inclosing the aforementioned papers for his perusal, and requesting that the captain of the Sea-Horse frigate should be ordered to deliver, in person, the memorial to the hoppo. 12th. Letter from Mr. Crichton to the attorneys of such persons, whether in Europe or India, as have money in the hands of the Chinese, desiring to be appointed their agent for recovering the same. From said attorneys and Mr. Crichton to Sir Edward Vernon, to the same purport as Mr. Crichton's particular letter of the 8th. From the same to the governor and council at Madras, praying their assistance, and stating their claims against the Chinese, interest included, "computed at more than a million sterling." 20th. From Sir Edward Vernon to the governor and board, stating his compliance with the aforesaid request, and asking their assistance, by directing the supercargoes at Canton to afford every aid to the captain of the frigate, in the prosecution of his business. Sir Edward's address to the viceroy of Canton, to be delivered to him in person by Captain Panton.* 21st. Mr. Crichton to Sir

---

* "TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY OF CANTON.

"May it please your Excellency, — It gives me real concern that I am under the necessity of laying before you the accompanying letter, addressed to your Excellency by Mr. John Crichton, who has traded and resided at Canton for some years, in behalf of his constituents and himself, concerning the very considerable sum of money the merchants of Canton are indebted to British subjects; which letter, Mr. Crichton informs me, has been approved of by such of the creditors who reside at this place, as well on their own account as in behalf of such creditors in Europe, and other parts of India, for whom they act.

"As the representative of my most gracious sovereign, the king of Great Britain, by whose commission I have the honor to serve in this country as an admiral, and commander-in-chief of his squadron and of armed vessels of the English East India Company, I cannot, consistently with my duty to my sovereign and my country, see his subjects oppressed and distressed in the manner set forth in the said letter, addressed to your Excellency by Mr. John Crichton, without complying with his desire that the same should be transmitted to your Excellency, accompanied by this address from me.

"I therefore beg leave to inform your Excellency, that, in consequence of his application made to me, as the representative of the king of Great Britain, I have ordered his Majesty's frigate the Sea-Horse to proceed to your port, with specie, on account of the East India Company and others; and, at the same time, given strict and positive orders to Captain Panton, commander of said frigate, to deliver into your Excellency's own hand, in the most public manner, and with the greatest respect, this address, accompanying Mr. Crichton's letter.

Edward Vernon, requesting to be appointed secretary to Captain Panton, as the king's representative. 24th. From the governor and board to Sir Edward Vernon, recommending that Captain Panton be directed to take the advice of the supercargoes respecting the delivery by him of the address to the viceroy, and that to this end those gentlemen be furnished by Sir Edward with a copy of said address. 26th. Sir Edward's answer, that he shall certainly order Captain Panton to present his letter in person to the viceroy, &c., and that he cannot, without degrading his public character as king's representative, transmit to the supercargoes at Canton a copy thereof; but that Captain Panton will be directed to coöperate with them, as well for the good of the company's service in general as for the relief of his Majesty's

---

"I have also the honor to inclose your Excellency a copy of Mr. John Crichton's letter to me, in my public character and station, also the address of the inhabitants of this settlement who have concerns in China, for your Excellency's satisfaction.

"Not having the smallest doubt but that your Excellency will take into your consideration the hardships which the subjects of my most gracious sovereign have suffered for these six years past, your Excellency will use the necessary means that strict justice be done to them in every respect, flattering myself the mode of making you acquainted with these grievances will be approved of by your Excellency, and treated accordingly.

"I most ardently wish that every thing may be adjusted to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, with that amity, justice, and good faith which the subjects of your state owe to those of my sovereign who trade thither or reside there. Indeed, I have not the smallest doubt, when the emperor is made acquainted with the distressing situation of the British subjects, but he will be graciously pleased to approve of the means now proposed for the doing them justice.

"I beg leave to request your Excellency will accept my best wishes for your health, and that you will be pleased to allow me to add,

"I am, with all due respect," &c.

subjects concerned in the present application. From Mr. Crichton to the governor and board, stating, that, having, previously to the arrival of Sir Edward Vernon, furnished the governor with a copy of his memorial to the hoppo, and no inquiries by the governor respecting the same having since been made of him, he hoped that he should be excused for having, on the arrival of Sir Edward Vernon, applied to him, as his Majesty's representative, in behalf of himself and others, his Majesty's subjects; he also acquaints them, that Sir Edward Vernon had consented to send the Sea-Horse, with Captain Panton as his Majesty's representative, to endeavour to obtain redress of the grievance; and concludes by hoping that their Honors would not take offence at his proceedings. 29th. From the governor and board to Sir Edward, disapproving of sending a king's *armed* ship to Canton, as the trade there wanted no protection, and stating, that, should the company's affairs ever render such a measure necessary, "instructions will be obtained by them from his Majesty's ministers." 31st. From Sir Edward in reply to the governor and board, observing, that, when, in his first letter to them, he asked their advice and assistance, he expected they would have desired a meeting with him, as had been customary on other occasions; but that this not having been the case now, he inclosed them a copy of part of his instructions to Captain Panton, who was to proceed immediately on the business, as soon as their despatches for Canton were delivered. In these instructions, Captain Panton is forbidden to go higher up the river than Second Bar, in order to avoid the claim of duties for measurement, which he is by no means to pay. He is directed to deliver to the viceroy the letter from Sir Edward, and to the hoppo that from

Mr. Crichton, complying with the necessary forms of audience, provided that nothing therein required "be derogatory to the honor of his Majesty's flag." It is enjoined upon him carefully to avoid any disputes or measures which might have a tendency to obstruct the company's commerce; — and further, as it was said that a representation of this matter had been sent to England the last year, he was to inquire of the supercargoes at Canton whether they had received any orders from the government, or the court of directors, and act accordingly. Finally, he is required to take Mr. Crichton as his secretary.

On his arrival at Second Bar, some time in October following, Captain Panton addressed a letter to the viceroy,* by whom he was admitted to an audience in the city, having passed thither in a sedan-chair from the company's factory, to which place he came in his barge. Here, in presence of the merchants, who were summoned on the occasion, he delivered the letter to the viceroy, who opened it, and then gave it to the linguist to be translated. This done, his Excellency assured Captain Panton that proper inquiries would be made; and likewise told him, that the emperor, in 1760, having been informed of the distresses occasioned to the merchants, in consequence of borrowing money from the Europeans at a high premium, had issued an edict, forbidding such loans upon any conditions, under penalty to the European of a forfeiture of his money, and of banishment to the Chinese, — a circumstance well known to all the Europeans and Chinese in Canton, the edict having been published in the usual manner, and translated into the several European languages. He added, that, notwithstanding this flagrant violation of the emperor's edict, his Majesty should be made acquainted with the present application, and Captain Panton might come back for his answer the succeeding year. — Shortly after this audience, Captain Panton took in the necessary refreshments, and sailed for Madras; having, previously to his departure, issued a proclamation, forbidding all British subjects lending money to the Chinese.

---

* *Captain Panton to the Viceroy of Canton.*

"His Excellency the Viceroy of Canton.

"May it please your Excellency, — The commander of his Britannic Majesty's ship Sea-Horse has the honor to present to your Excellency herewith a letter from the admiral, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the East Indies, demanding justice to be done to his Majesty's oppressed subjects in China, — and two letters from Mr. Crichton, humbly requesting justice in behalf of himself and others, to whom the Chinese merchants are indebted large sums of money.

"The commander of his Majesty's ship Sea-Horse wishes to inform your Excellency, in a few words, the real intention of his coming to China.

"He is come to ask of the Chinese government, in a respectful, friendly, and firm manner, that his Majesty's subjects may be justly paid the debts owing to them by the Chinese merchants; and that your Excellency will be pleased to cause an inquiry to be made, and the money and goods to be returned, which were stolen by the Chinese out of the East India Company's ship, last year, while she lay at the Second Bar. There is too much reason to believe people in the boats appointed to take care of that part of the river are well acquainted with those who committed the act of robbing the ship Royal George.

The viceroy, having summoned all the chiefs of the trading companies to the city, demanded if they had any claims, in behalf of their respective companies,

---

"I have the honor to subscribe myself, with all due respect, may it please your Excellency,

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"Jno. Alex'r. Panton."

against the estates of the bankrupt merchants; to which they replied in the negative. To the further question, whether, individually, any of them had a claim for himself or friend, the answer was also in the negative. It was necessary that they should give such an answer, for an acknowledgment that they were creditors of the Chinese would have been a virtual admission that they had acted contrary to their engagements with their own companies. But in this instance, the English had the advantage of all the others, as that nation alone allows its subjects in India to carry on a trade with China, independently of the company. Accordingly, the English gentlemen observed, that, though, for the company, or for themselves individually, they had no claims, yet, as agents for British subjects who had, they begged justice from the viceroy in their behalf, and hoped that he would be pleased to take some measures for the relief of such persons, who, with their families, had suffered greatly by the said bankruptcies.

On Captain Panton's return, the year following, and obtaining an audience of the viceroy in the city, he was informed, that, although the emperor had just reason to be offended at the little regard which had been paid to his edict by the Europeans, who had thereby forfeited all claim to his favor, yet, from his accustomed tenderness towards strangers throughout his dominions, his Majesty had been pleased to direct that the sum of sixty thousand taels of silver should be annually levied on the trade of Canton, for ten years to come, and applied to the liquidation of the several claims of the English subjects, in the manner following: — The full amount of principal and interest on all claims prior to his edict of 1760; but for the claims after that date, one half only of the principal, and no interest. All the claims, of whatever nature, against one of the houses, were set aside, as said house was greatly in arrears to the imperial revenue, and its proprietor was dead. The heads of the other two houses, the viceroy said, had been sent into banishment.

Captain Panton having thus accomplished the object of his mission, which he conducted in a becoming manner, left Canton, on his return to India, and died at Malacca. It ought not to be omitted, that, on his first visit, he was offered by the Chinese *forty thousand dollars*, if he would go back without executing his commission, and say that he could not be indulged with an audience; so much afraid are the merchants of having any application made to their government respecting commerce. The first sixty thousand taels were paid early in 1781, previously to the supercargoes going to Macao; the same sum has been annually paid ever since, and there are two payments yet to be made. It is no small aggravation to the Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and French, that their trade bears a portion of the tax for this dividend;* for, though there were creditors of the bankrupt Chinese among their respective companies' servants, yet they did not dare avow their claims, and of course were entirely excluded.

---

* This will appear by the sixth article of instructions to M. Galbert, and his return to the same, on the subject of grievances, which amounted to ten, presented to the hoppo, as mentioned on page 185. These instructions were drawn up by M. Vieillard, and approved by the different nations.

"6°. Il représentera que, chaque année, les marchands paient aux Anglais un dixième des dettes des marchands banqueroutiers, il les citera par leurs noms, et le tout par ordre des mandarins, en vertu des plaintes portées par Mr. Panton; que, pour subvenir à ce paîment, les Hannistes chargent à toutes les nations commerçantes un droit sur les marchandises d'entrée et de sortie, de façon que les autres nations, qui sont également créancières des Chinois, non seulement ne sont pas payées, mais même encore se trouvent contribuer à payer les créances Anglaises au prorata de leur commerce."

After this instance of attention on the part of the Chinese government to the representations of strangers, on the score of property, it may not be amiss to show the tolerant spirit it manifested towards some Christians, whose zeal had led them to violate the laws of the empire, in endeavouring to propagate their religion beyond the bounds to which the Chinese policy had restricted it. The edict of the emperor on this occasion, as communicated by Le R. Père Gramont,* is as follows: —

"Édit de l'Empereur Kien Long, publié en la 50e année de son règne, le 8e de la 10e lune, — ce qui, en style Européen, répond au 9e Novembre, 1785.

"Les Européens, Pa-ti-ly-yang † et autres, entrés furtivement dans l'intérieur de l'empire, ayant été arrêtés dans la province de Hu Kuangs; après bien des recherches et des informations, faites à cette occasion, on est parvenu à découvrir, que dans les provinces de Tcholi, du Chantong, du Chen Si, du Se Tchuen, il y avait encore d'autres étrangers, qui, contre les lois de l'empire,

---

"6°. J'ai commencé par déclarer au Hopou, à la réquisition de MM. les Anglais, que cet article ne les concernait en aucune façon; qu'ils étaient satisfaits par le gouvernement, au sujet de leur créance; que cet article ne concerne que les Français, Suédois, Danois, et Hollandais. Ensuite lui ayant expliqué l'article, il m'a répondu, Je vous ai compris."

* A French missionary, who, having been upwards of twenty years in China, the greater part of which time he passed in Peking, has for the last three years resided in the suburbs of Canton, — he says, for the benefit of his health; but the Chinese and the Europeans consider him as a spy from the court.

† Le nom estropié d'un missionaire Franciscain, arrêté dans la province du Hu Kuangs.

s'occupaient secrètement à répandre leur religion. Comme de chacune de ces provinces, ils ont été successivement conduits et livrés au King Pou,* pour être examinés et jugés, ce tribunal les a condamnés à une prison perpétuelle.

" L'unique motif qui avait conduit ces Européens dans mes etats c'est le désir d'annoncer et de propager leur doctrine. On n'a pu d'ailleurs les charger d'aucun crime ; et si, après avoir informé les mandarins de leur arrivée, ils se fussent rendus à Peking, ils seraient à l'abri de tout reproche.

" Mais, comme transgresseurs de la loi, qui interdit aux étrangers l'entrée de l'empire, ils se sont glissés furtivement dans ces provinces, où ils travaillèrent sourdement, et en cachette à multiplier les sectateurs de leur religion, on n'a pu s'empêcher de sévir contre une conduite si artificieuse, et d'arrêter les progrès de la séduction.

" Bien qu'ils soient dignes du châtiment auquel ils sont condamnés, touché cependant de leur imprudence, ce n'est qu'à regret, et en faisant violence à ma bonté, que j'ai ratifié la sentence portée contre eux.

" Mais réfléchissant aujourd'hui que ce sont des étrangers, des étrangers peu instruits des lois de l'empire, je sens redoubler ma compassion pour eux ; et ma bonté s'irrite de les voir si long-temps dans les fers. Je veux donc, et j'ordonne, que ces douze étrangers soient mis en liberté.

" S'il en est parmi eux qui soient bien aises de rester à Peking, je leur permets de se retirer dans les maisons des Européens, et d'y vivre conformément à leur état. S'ils souhaitent de retourner en Europe, que le tribunal

---

* La tournelle, ou chambre criminelle du Parlement de la Chine.

nomme un mandarin, qui les conduise, et veille sur eux, jusqu'à Canton.

" Mon intention, en accordant une grâce si extraordinaire, est de donner une preuve éclatante de ma bonté, et de mon affection envers les étrangers.

" Qu'on respecte mes ordres."

Respecting the intercourse between the Europeans and the Americans at Canton, it would be only to repeat what has been already mentioned more than once, were I to say any thing on that score. Nationally and personally, we have abundant reason to be satisfied. I must not, however, omit to observe, that the etiquette between the English and me has, at last, been happily adjusted. On its being announced that their chief would this season embark for England, it was, among other matters, observed by some of the gentlemen present, that they probably should then see Mr. Shaw at their table, who, they said, in declining to accept their invitations hitherto, had conducted in a becoming manner. The intended successor, Mr. Harrison, joined in this opinion, and said he should take occasion, after his accession, to pay me the usual attentions. This conversation was reported to me by one of the gentlemen, with a view of discovering my sentiments in regard to the matter, who at the same time asked me if I would accept the invitation. To this I replied, that, in offering it, Mr. Harrison would certainly do what would be proper; and that, as to myself, I hoped I should not do what would be improper. Accordingly, on Mr. Browne's leaving Canton, the 11th of January, I made the complimentary visit to the new chief, which he returned in due order. An invitation to the English table followed; and on the 24th, Mr. Ward and I took our farewell dinner at their house.

The usual ceremonies of leave-taking with the respective nations having been observed, Mr. Ward and I left Canton at noon the next day, January 25th, and in the evening arrived on board the ship General Washington, near Second Bar, on our way to America. Besides Captain Donnison, there are his mates, Messrs. Low, Page, and Jenckes, together with Mr. Ward and his assistants, Messrs. Magee and Smith, Mr. Edward Dowse, and myself, passengers.

On the 28th of January, at four o'clock, P. M., being off Macao, the pilot left us. On the 10th of February, at ten, A. M., we anchored in the Straits of Banca, sent the boats ashore for wood, and came to sail the next day at noon.

Saturday morning, the 14th, we anchored at North island, where we found the Jenny, Captain Thompson, arrived the day before. The first mate of a Dutch ship from Batavia, stationed at this place to wait the arrival from Canton of the ships of that nation bound to Europe, came on board and gave me the welcome information that Captain Randall and my brother, in the Jay, were safe; that they arrived here the 3d instant, after five weeks' passage from Batavia,* and sailed the 8th for Bombay, whence they would return to Batavia, and proceed to Canton. Notwithstanding the reason I had to be happy at this intelligence, yet the idea that we had missed each other only by six days seemed to convert it into a misfortune; and, such is the capriciousness of human nature, I could not help regretting it as an aggravated disappointment. The next day, I wrote a letter to M. Le Clé, the Shabandar at Batavia, inclosing one for Captain Randall, and gave it to the Dutch captain.

---

* Nothing can show more forcibly the nature of the monsoon in these seas; at the proper season, this distance may be sailed in less than two days.

Leaving this place, the 17th, we sailed for Krokatoa island, where we arrived the next morning, and, to my inexpressible joy, found the Jay there at anchor. Randall and my brother were soon on board of the Washington, and we had the happiness of passing that and the succeeding day together. After so long a separation, attended by circumstances which threatened to double its continuance, the sensations of friends so near to each other, on such a long-wished and unexpected* meeting, may be better imagined than described. My happiness was completed by its affording me the opportunity of taking my brother with me; especially as he had left America at my instance, and under the idea of being constantly with me. Randall and I having settled our arrangements for meeting again in America, in 1791, then to pursue our fortunes together, we took leave of him on Friday morning, the 20th, and came on board the Washington, proceeding towards Prince's island. Ships in company, the Jay and the Jenny, Americans; the Neptune, Albion, and Cornwallis, English; two Portuguese. Sunday evening, the 22d, having had only light winds, the whole fleet, except the Jenny, still in sight. The next day, at sunrise, being clear of the land, we could see only the Albion.†

Wednesday, February 25th, between three and four o'clock, P. M., felt a shock, as of an earthquake, which lasted nearly half a minute, during which time the ship shook with a very sensible motion, so as to awaken the attention of every body on board. It was clear weather, and almost a dead calm. At noon, our latitude was 8° 16′ south, and our longitude a degree and a half west of Java Head.

---

* "Quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro." — *Virg.*

† It should not be omitted, that, both at North island and Krokatoa, bullocks, fowls, ducks, pigs, turtle, and fruit in abundance, may be purchased from the Malays.

Proceeding on our voyage, we spoke, at eleven, A. M., March 24th, a Dutch ship, from Ceylon, bound to the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 25th we saw three other vessels.

Several observations for ascertaining the longitude by the sun and moon having been taken, under the inspection of Mr. Dowse,* since our departure from Java, which invariably placed the ship ahead of the reckonings, another was taken, at four, P. M., on the 3d of April, which gave our position in 32° 46′ east longitude from Greenwich. The succeeding noon, the longitude by reckoning was 37° 21′, making a difference of nearly five degrees; the latitude observed was 29° 46′ south. At daybreak, on the 5th, we had a convincing proof of the reliance which *ought* to be placed on these observations, being in full sight of, and not far from, the main land of Africa. At noon of the same day, the latitude observed was 31° 31′, and the longitude assumed 28°.

On the 11th of April, at four, P. M., got soundings on the Bank in sixty fathoms. Saw a snow to the southward, standing easterly. Observation at noon 35° 37′. At six, P. M., the 13th, no bottom in eighty-five fathoms; — saw a ship ahead. At six, A. M., saw another astern. The following noon, the Cape of Good Hope, by reckoning, bore north-northeast thirty-four miles distant. At eight, P. M., on the 14th, the ship astern, which before sunset had shown Imperial colors, spoke us. She was the Prudentia, from Calcutta to Ostend.* They inquired after the ship Argyle, which they told us had not yet been heard of, and it was apprehended she was lost. It was a mixed sensation I experienced on this occasion. Captain Fowle and the gentlemen of that ship had secured my esteem, and were entitled to my affection. Anxious for their fate, it was impossible not to reflect upon my own; as, fearing she would lose her season for China, I had left this ship at Madras and taken passage in another. Was this chance, or shall I say, "*Sic Diis visum est*"?

---

* This gentleman has been one of the surveyors for the United States, and possesses a remarkable turn for mathematics.

At one, P. M., April 26th, we saw a ship. At six, we showed colors, which were answered, and, though at a great distance, our captain declared those exhibited by the stranger to be American. The next morning they were clearly discernible as such, on which we shortened sail to let her come up, when she proved to be the Jenny, and at noon we had the pleasure of speaking Captain Thompson and our friends on board, — all well. As he did not intend to stop at St. Helena, he parted from us in half an hour, and, shaping his course more westerly, was out of sight at sunset.

On the 29th, at two, P. M., our course N. W., we made the island of St. Helena, N. by W. ten leagues distant. At four, we saw three ships standing in. Keeping off and on during the night, we the next morning stood in, and, after sending our boat with an officer to ask permission, we anchored in the bay at eleven o'clock. Here we found four English company ships, two Swedes, that came in with us, and two English Imperialists. The Albion, which sailed in company with us from Krokatoa, arrived yesterday; and the Lord Hawkesbury, despatched ten days before us, came in only this morning. Both these ships are coppered, and are reckoned remarkably fine sailers. The Swedes left Whampoa seventeen days before us. At noon, the captain, Mr. Ward, my brother, and I, went ashore, and took lodgings at Mr. Kennedy's, which Mr. Dowse, who went in the first boat, had been so obliging as to engage for us. Here we were informed of the war between the Swedes and Danes, the ships of the latter having been gone only fifteen days; and also of the melancholy situation of the king of Great Britain, disordered in his mind past hope of recovery.*

---

* This ship is owned and navigated principally by English subjects, and there are other instances of a similar nature. For sovereigns, not engaged in commerce themselves, thus, in time of peace, to prostitute their flag to adventurers of other nations, neither adds lustre to their crown nor affords any proof of their benevolence. Renegado Englishmen, whether as Imperial merchants or Prussian consuls, can never be respected by the thinking part of mankind.

Having passed the remainder of the 29th on shore, and completed our watering and refreshments the 30th, we, in the evening of that day, returned on board ship, and at eight o'clock came to sail, shaping our course for the island of Ascension.

St. Helena is thus described by Mr. Guthrie: — "The first island on this side the Cape is St. Helena, situated in west longitude 6° 4′, south latitude 16°, being twelve hundred miles west of the continent of Africa, and eighteen hundred east of South America. The island is a rock about twenty-one miles in circumference, very high and very steep, and only accessible at the landing-place, in a small valley at the east side of it, which is defended by batteries of guns planted level with the water; and, as the waves are perpetually dashing on the shore, it is generally difficult landing even here. There is no anchorage about the island but at Chapel Valley Bay; and, as the wind always blows from the southeast, if a ship overshoots the island ever so little, she cannot recover it again. The English plantations here afford potatoes and yams, with figs, plantains, bananas, grapes, kidney-beans, and Indian corn; of the last, however, most part is devoured by rats, which harbour in the rocks, and cannot be destroyed; so that the flour they use is almost wholly imported from England; and in times of scarcity they generally eat yams and potatoes instead of bread. Though the island appears on every side a hard, barren rock, yet it is agreeably diversified with hills and plains, adorned with plantations of fruit-trees and garden-stuff. They have great plenty of hogs, bullocks, poultry, ducks, geese, and turkeys, with which they supply the sailors, taking in exchange shirts, drawers, or any light clothes, pieces of calico, silks, muslins, arrack, sugar, &c.

---

* *Mem.* In this and the four preceding paragraphs the time is reckoned as on board ship, where the day begins at noon.

"St. Helena is said to have been first discovered by the Portuguese on the festival of the Empress Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, whose name it still bears. It does not appear that the Portuguese ever planted a colony here; and the English East India Company took possession of it in 1600, and held it without interruption till the year 1673, when the Dutch took it by surprise. However, the English, under Captain Munden, recovered it again within the space of a year, and at the same time took three Dutch East India ships that lay in the road. There are about two hundred families in the island, most of them descended from English parents. The East India ships take in water and fresh provisions here, in their way home ; but the island is so small, and the wind so much against them outward bound, that they very seldom see it then.

" The company's affairs are here managed by a governor, deputy-governor, and storekeeper, who have standing salaries allowed by the company, besides a public table well furnished, to which all commanders, masters of ships, and principal passengers are welcome."

From the observation our opportunities allowed us to make, I am induced to believe that no account could be more just than the foregoing. The governor, Mr. Brooke, whom we visited on going ashore, received us with politeness, and gave us an invitation to dinner the next day, which we accepted, though only Mr. Ward and myself went ; Mr. Dowse being indisposed, and the captain preferring to dine at our lodgings. The governor was pleased to apologize for his not being able to give us permission to visit the interior parts of the island, it being a standing order from the company that no foreigner, nor even any English passenger in a foreign ship, shall have that indulgence. He observed, at the same time, that he thought the order improper, as strangers of all denominations must, from the nature of the place, not only land at, but pass through, its principal defences. Great improvements have lately been made in these, and in the fortifications on the surrounding heights, and the garrison is respectable. The governor, who is also a military man, pronounces the place to be impregnable ; and was not a little pleased to have his opinion corroborated by that of

Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras, and perhaps the first engineer of the age, who, with his family, passed five days here, on their return to England, and reëmbarked the evening of our arrival. The labor bestowed on this place is almost incredible, and the obstacles of nature have everywhere been conquered by the exertions of industry and art. Taken altogether, St. Helena is one of the most remarkable places in the world; and, instead of ever attempting to wrest it from its present possessors, every nation trading to India ought to contribute to its support. The port charges are moderate, — three pounds sterling for *every* ship that takes less than twenty butts of water, and five for such as exceed, by any quantity. This article is conveyed to the landing by means of pipes and ducts, so that the largest ships may obtain a full supply in twenty-four hours; and every sort of refreshment we had occasion for was easily procured. All homeward-bound vessels belonging to the company are obliged to stop here, and there are annually two ships from England, which, after leaving stores, proceed to India or China. In time of war, the appearance of three ships in the offing, and in peace of five, causes a general alarm, on which occasions the posts are manned, and the inhabitants subjected to military duty with the garrison. The society is very agreeable, — the manners perfectly European, though many of the inhabitants have never been off the island, — the ladies handsome, fond of dress, and well behaved. It is peculiarly grateful to strangers, that immediately on their arrival they become domesticated, as the first families in the place do not think it derogatory to receive them as lodgers. The gentleman at whose house we stayed is deputy-secretary, and has an amiable family, consisting of his wife, an agreeable woman, and five little girls, the eldest of whom has seen about eleven years. For our expenses, and the few necessaries we took, I gave my bills on Captain Randall at Canton, in favor of Captain Edward Manning, of the storeship, whose purser, Mr. Murray, supplied Mr. Ward with money; by which opportunity I also wrote to my friend Thomas Freeman, Esq.,, of the English house there.

On the 7th of May, towards evening, we saw the island of Ascension, bearing N. N. W. five leagues. At two the next morning, sent the yawl after turtle. At daylight saw two French brigs lying under the island, which, on our standing in, hoisted anchor and sailed away. Our boat returned at nine, not having been able to land. Mr. Low went on board one of the vessels, but all he could learn was, that they were from Bordeaux, after turtle, and bound back there. We remained at Ascension that and the following day, and while there, the ship Parr, Captain Folger, on a whaling voyage from New Brunswick, also put in. Though we had two parties ashore both nights, yet, owing to the lateness of the season, we took only three turtles, — but these very large, from three to four hundred weight, — and killed a goat. The Frenchmen standing off and on while we were there, we had no opportunity of speaking them. Probably they had been robbed of turtle by some ship passing this way, and were afraid of a repetition. At eleven, A. M., on Sunday, we came to sail, having in the mean time taken a plentiful supply of good fish. Captain Folger being to sail the next day for Nantucket, I wrote by him to my friend S. Parkman, at Boston.

The island of Ascension, according to Mr. Guthrie, "is situated in 7° 40′ south latitude, six hundred miles northwest of St. Helena. It received its name from its being discovered by the Portuguese on Ascension day, and is a mountainous, barren island, about twenty miles round, and uninhabited; but it has a safe, convenient harbour, where the East India ships generally touch to furnish themselves with turtles or tortoises, which are very plentiful here, and vastly large, some of them weighing above a hundred pounds each. The sailors, going ashore in the night-time, frequently turn two or three hundred of them on their backs before morning; and are sometimes so cruel as to turn many more than they use, leaving them to die on the shore."

Leaving Ascension, we shaped our course for the West Indies, and on the 17th of May, at noon, observed in 21′ north latitude, being, by account, in 25° 50′ west longitude. On the 29th, saw a ship to windward, standing our course. June 4th, at one in the morning, spoke a French brig, but could learn nothing. On the 6th, at nine, A. M., saw a French sloop, or drogher, which we spoke, but could learn nothing. In an hour after, we made Deseada, S. W. by W. six leagues. At two, P. M., saw Guadaloupe, S. S. W. six leagues, and Antigua on the starboard bow. At six, saw Montserrat, passed it at eleven, and Redonda at midnight. At two, the next morning, passed Nevis, and at daylight were sailing by St. Christopher and Saba, towards St. Eustatius, where we came to anchor, at ten o'clock. Mr. Henry Jennings, one of the principal merchants of the place, came on board, and invited us to dinner. The captain, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dowse, my brother, and I, went ashore, took lodgings at the hotel, kept by Mr. Howard, and passed the day with Mr. Jennings.

The next day we visited the governor and the fiscal, and obtained permission to trade, paying two and a half per cent. on sales, according to our own estimate, which the governor himself said we might make very moderate. From this circumstance, and the general conduct of the merchants, there is a strong presumption that the payment of any duty is rather a matter of courtesy than an obligation.

Besides Mr. Jennings's family, we became acquainted with that of his partner, Mr. Tucker, as also with that of Mr. Haffey, with whom we did our principal business. To the last of these gentlemen we were introduced by Mr. Sears (son of my worthy friend deceased at Canton), whose visit I had the pleasure to receive on board, and the satisfaction to learn at the same time that he was advantageously connected at Dominica with his brother-in-law, Mr. Bourdieu. The gentlemen above named being married, we had the pleasure of conversing with three very amiable ladies, occasionally visiting and once dining with each of the first two, and repeatedly with the last, with whom we were more *en famille.* Mr. Clarkson, a young gentleman from Philadelphia, is established here, with whom and his lady we had the pleasure of breakfasting. The house of Hardtman and Clarkson is very respectable. These gentlemen married sisters (the daughters of a merchant at St. Christopher), a circumstance I should not notice, were it the only instance of the kind. Mr. Richard Jennings, now in England, married a widow at St. Eustatius; his brother, one of her daughters; and Mr. Tucker, their partner, the other. Besides these houses of established credit, there is also that of James and Lambert Blair; and, among other respectable persons in business, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Harper should not be omitted.

Although a Dutch colony, yet every thing at St. Eustatius, — excepting the officers of government, and the Jews, who are very numerous, — seems English. For several years there had been an interregnum, and on our arrival we were informed that a new governor, Mr. Godin, who had been some time appointed, was in the neighbourhood, and daily expected, having been employed in visiting the principal islands belonging to the Europeans, in order the better to qualify himself for the administration of his own government. This, and the circumstance of his having been engaged in commerce himself, particularly at New York, where he became acquainted with the American trade to these islands, had occasioned the inhabitants to form a favorable opinion of him, and impatiently to desire his arrival. It was a pleasing incident, that this took place before we left the island, his Excellency having landed, *incognito*, on Sunday evening. The next morning, after taking leave of Mr. Reynolds, the late administrator, Mr. Dowse and I paid our respects to the new governor. He received us politely, and was so obliging as to observe that he had the pleasure of being acquainted with the Americans, and should be happy in occasions of being useful to them. The government of this island, we were told, is shortly to be transferred from the company to the States, and Mr. Godin is already considered as a States governor.

With the new governor we found Colonel O'Reiley, an Irish gentleman, whom I had seen a few days before. Being in the French service at the commencement of our war with England, he obtained an appointment in the American army, and was captured in Canada, in 1776. He was afterwards in Georgia, under Count

D'Estaing, and at St. Christopher, with the Marquis de Bouillie ; and it is said that on one occasion during the war in these seas, he was a volunteer in an English fleet. However this may be, he is now commandant of the Dutch troops and forts on the island, an appointment which he owes to the Marquis de Bouillie, who, accidentally meeting him at Amsterdam, as he was going to the West India house, took him with him. The directors were then consulting on the appointment of a military commandant for St. Eustatius, and, fortunately for O'Reiley, took the opportunity of complimenting the Marquis with the nomination of the person. The Marquis, with the vivacity of a Frenchman, and a goodness natural to himself, putting his hand upon O'Reiley's shoulder, presented him to the directors, with *Ecce homo!* and thus Mr. O'Reiley, no less to his surprise than his satisfaction, became the military commandant of St. Eustatius. He is a genteel man, about thirty-five years of age, and does not seem deficient in modest assurance. Shortly after his arrival at the island, he married a lady of some fortune, who dying, he again married advantageously. His going to St. Christopher, to attend the expected governor, two days after our arrival, prevented, he said, his having the pleasure of entertaining us at his house ; a circumstance I could not help regretting, as I was told that his present lady is an amiable woman, and as I should have been amused in cultivating a further acquaintance with this soldier of fortune.

According to Mr. Guthrie, St. Eustatius, "situated in 17° 29′ north latitude, 63° 10′ west longitude, and three leagues northwest of St. Christopher's, is only a mountain, about twenty-nine miles in compass, rising out of the sea like a pyramid, and almost round. But, though so small, and inconveniently laid out by nature, the industry of the Dutch has made it turn to very good account; and it is said to contain five thousand whites, and fifteen thousand negroes. The sides of the mountain are laid out in very pretty settlements; but they have neither springs nor rivers. They raise here sugar and tobacco; and this island, as well as Currassou [Curaçoa], is engaged in the Spanish contraband trade, for which, however, it is not so well situated; and it has drawn the same advantage from its constant neutrality. But when hostilities were commenced by Great Britain against Holland, Admiral Rodney was sent with a considerable land and sea force against St. Eustatius, which, being incapable of any defence, surrendered at discretion, on the 3d of February, 1781. The private property of the inhabitants was confiscated, with a degree of rigor very uncommon among civilized nations, and very inconsistent with the humanity and generosity by which the English nation were formerly characterized. The reason assigned was, that the inhabitants of St. Eustatius had assisted the revolted colonies with naval and other stores. But on the 27th of November, the same year, St. Eustatius was retaken by the French, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillie, though their force consisted of only three frigates and some small craft, and about three hundred men."

Present appearances confirm the foregoing account. Although the medium of much trade between the United States and such powers in the West Indies as keep their ports shut against the American vessels, or, what amounts to the same, lay them under too severe restrictions, yet St. Eustatius is far from being in that flourishing state which it enjoyed during the late war, before it was so shamefully plundered by the British. The overgrown wealth acquired by its inhabitants in consequence of its neutrality, previously to this occurrence, makes them feel the difference more sensibly. Yet, that out of the question, St. Eustatius may soon recover its former consideration.

The Sunday morning before we left the island, our friend Mr. Haffey was so obliging as to provide us with horses, and attend us on a circuit in the country, which afforded us also a sight of the islands of St. Bartholomew and St. Martin. At first view of St. Eustatius, a person would hardly suppose there could be much cultivated ground; and therefore, on riding into the country, is most agreeably surprised to find it so different from his expectation. The island, though apparently a rock, produces, one year with another, from a thousand to twelve hundred hogsheads of sugar. After returning from our ride, we breakfasted with Mr. and Mrs. Haffey; and our friend's politeness carried him so far as to propose attending us to the English church; an offer we the more readily embraced, from being acquainted with the parson, Mr. Audain, a gentleman of good sense and engaging manners, and who did not disappoint our expectations of him in his sacred character. It was with regret that we were obliged to decline our friend's invitation to dinner, on account of a prior engagement. This was with Mr. Hovey, who had asked us five days before, — promising, if we would come, to show us the Garden of Eden. This gentleman has lived on the island about thirty years, and, being from Malden, near Boston, says he has a claim upon all Americans, but more particularly upon his Yankee countrymen, and is accordingly happy in all occasions of entertaining them. During the war, he carried his hospitality so far that his house was never empty. He is certainly an original, and though his country residence on the hill is not the Garden of Eden, it is a most comfortable place. His wife is a well-behaved woman, and daughter to a former governor of Saba. He says she was handsome once, and her present appearance justifies the assertion. It must be allowed that she is good-natured, — for a young woman at table, who was called Miss Polly, between whom and her there seemed to be the utmost cordiality, is in fact her husband's kept mistress, living in the same house, and the mother of a little girl, who appeared equally dear to them both. This circumstance, which we did not learn till after leaving the house, and other peculiarities of Mr. Hovey, prevent them from visiting in what is called the polite circle; though, otherwise, he bears the character of a good sort of man. A beautiful young woman from Boston, the wife of one of his partners, or assistants, and mother of two charming boys, was also of the party.

Having remained at St. Eustatius till Tuesday, June 16th, we went on board ship in the evening, and at eight o'clock proceeded to sea. Thence, without other incident than seeing outward-bound vessels, and speaking several of them, we arrived on the American coast, and at noon, July 2d, got soundings in sixty fathoms. At sunset, the next day, our reckonings being up, we were prevented from seeing the land by reason of the extreme haziness of the weather, and were obliged to stand off and on during the night. The two succeeding days were so foggy, that many times we could not see the ship's length from us. In this state of uncertainty, on the last of these days, July 5th, at ten o'clock, a sloop, that morning from Newport, gave us the bearing and distance of the light-house. At two, P. M., we passed Newport, which we saluted with seven guns; and at six o'clock, anchoring five miles below Providence finished our voyage.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Note A. Page 217.

To the Honorable the Minister of the United States for Foreign Affairs.

New York, *May* 19*th*, 1785.

Sir, — The first vessel that has been fitted out by inhabitants of the United States of America, for essaying a commerce with those of the empire of China, being, by the favor of Heaven, safely returned to this port, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, for the information of the fathers of the country, an account of the reception its citizens have met with, and the respect with which its flag has been treated in that distant region ; especially, as some circumstances have occurred which had a tendency to attract the attention of the Chinese towards a people of whom they have hitherto had but very confused ideas, and which served, in a peculiar manner, to place the Americans in a more conspicuous point of view than has commonly attended the introduction of other nations into that ancient and extensive empire.

The ship employed on this occasion was about three hundred and sixty tons burden, built in America, and equipped with forty-three persons, under the command of John Green, Esq. The subscriber had the honor of being appointed agent for their commerce, by the gentlemen at whose risk this first experiment was undertaken.

On the 22d of February, 1784, the ship sailed from New York, and arrived, the 21st of March, at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verde islands. Having paid our respects to the Portuguese viceroy, and, with his permission, taken such refreshments as were necessary, we left those islands on the 27th, and pursued our voyage. After a pleasant passage, in which nothing extraordinary occurred, we came to anchor in the Straits of Sunda on the 18th of July. It was no small addition to our happiness on this occasion to meet there two ships belonging to our good allies, the French. The commodore, M. D'Ordelin, and his officers, welcomed us in the most affectionate manner; and, as his own ship was bound directly to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him. This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted, and the commodore furnished us with his day and night signals, and added such instructions for our passage through the Chinese seas as would have been exceedingly beneficial had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation. Happily, we pursued our route together. On our arrival at the island of Macao, the French consul for China, M. Vieillard, with some other gentlemen of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world; and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese governor. The little time that we were there was entirely taken up by the good offices of the consul and the gentlemen of his nation, with those of the Swedes and Imperialists, who still remained at Macao. The other Europeans had repaired to Canton. Three days afterwards, we finished our outward-bound voyage. Previously to coming to anchor, we saluted the shipping in the river with thirteen guns, which were answered by the several commodores of the European nations, each of whom sent an officer to compliment us on our arrival. These visits were returned by the captain and supercargoes in the afternoon, who, on taking leave, were again saluted by the respective ships. When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were already under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings. Nor did their good offices stop here; they furnished us with part of their own banksall, and insisted, further, that until we were settled we should take up our quarters with them at Canton.

The day of our arrival at Canton, August 30th, and the two following days, we were visited by the Chinese merchants and the chiefs and gentlemen of the several European establishments, and treated by them in all respects as citizens of a free and independent nation. As such, during our stay, we were universally considered. The Chinese themselves were very indulgent towards us, though, ours being the first American ship that had ever visited China, it was some time before they could fully comprehend the distinction between us and Englishmen. They styled us the *New People;* and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire.

The situation of the Europeans at Canton is so well known as to render a detail unnecessary. The good understanding commonly subsisting between them and the Chinese was in some degree interrupted by two occurrences, of which, as they were extraordinary in themselves, and led to a more full investigation of the American character, by both parties, than might otherwise have taken place, I will, with your permission, give a particular account.

The police at Canton is at all times extremely strict, and the Europeans residing there are circumscribed within very narrow limits. The latter had observed with concern some circumstances which they deemed an encroachment upon their rights. On this consideration they determined to apply for redress to the *Hoppo*, who is the head officer of the customs, the next time he should visit the shipping. Deputies accordingly attended from every nation, and I was desired to represent ours. We met the Hoppo on board an English ship, and the causes of complaint were soon after removed.

The other occurrence, of which I beg leave to take notice, gave rise to what was commonly called the Canton war, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences. On the 25th of November, an English ship, in saluting some company that had dined on board, killed a Chinese and wounded two others in the mandarin's boat alongside. It is a maxim of the Chinese law that blood must answer for blood, in pursuance of which, they demanded the unfortunate gunner. To give up this poor man was to consign him to certain death. Humanity pleaded powerfully against the measure. After repeated conferences between the English and the Chinese, the latter declared themselves satisfied, and the affair was supposed to be entirely settled. Notwithstanding this, on the morning after the last conference (the 27th), the supercargo of the ship was seized, while attending his business, thrown into a sedan-chair, hurried into the city, and committed to prison. Such an outrage upon personal liberty spread a general alarm, and the Europeans unanimously agreed to send for their boats with armed men from the shipping, for the security of themselves and their property, until the matter should be brought to a conclusion. The boats accordingly came, and ours among the number; one of which was fired on, and a man wounded. All trade was stopped, and the Chinese men-of-war were drawn up opposite the factories. The Europeans demanded the restoration of the supercargo, Mr. Smith, which the Chinese refused, until the gunner should be given up. In the mean while, the troops of the province were collecting in the neighbourhood of Canton, — the Chinese servants were ordered by the magistrates to leave the factories, — the gates of the suburbs were shut, — all intercourse was at an end, — the naval force was increased, — many troops were embarked in boats ready for landing, — and every thing wore the appearance of war. To what extremities matters might have been carried, had not a negotiation taken place, no one can say. The Chinese asked a conference with all the nations except the English. A deputation, in which I was included for America, met the *Fuen*, who is the head magistrate of Canton, with the principal officers of the province. After setting forth, by an interpreter, the power of the emperor, and his own determination to support the laws, he demanded that the gunner should be given up within three days ; declaring that he should have an impartial examination before their tribunal, and if it appeared that the affair was accidental, he should be released unhurt. In the mean time, he gave permission for the trade, excepting that of the English, to go on as usual, and dismissed us with a present of two pieces of silk each, as a mark of his friendly disposition. The other nations, one after another, sent away their boats, under protection of a Chinese flag, and pursued their business as before. The English were obliged to submit, the gunner was given up, Mr. Smith was released, and the English, after being forced to ask pardon of the magistracy of Canton, in presence of the other nations, had their commerce restored. On this occasion, I am happy to remark that we were the last who sent off our boat, which was not disgraced with a Chinese flag ; nor did she go till the English themselves thanked us for our concurrence with them, and advised to the sending of her away. After peace was restored, the English chief and four other gentlemen visited the several nations, among whom we were included, and thanked them for their assistance during the troubles. The gunner remained with the Chinese, his fate undetermined.

Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties was perfectly civil and respectful, yet it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced, on every occasion, from our good allies, the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. " If," said they, " we have in any instance been serviceable to you, we are happy ; and we desire nothing more ardently than further opportunities to convince you of our affection." The harmony maintained between them and us was particularly noticed by the English, who more than once observed, that it was matter of astonishment to them that the descendants of Britons could so soon divest themselves of prejudices which they had thought to be not only hereditary, but inherent in our nature.

We left Canton the 27th of December, and on our return stopped for refreshments at the Cape of Good Hope, where we met with a most friendly reception. After remaining there five days, we sailed for America, and arrived in this port on the 11th instant.

To every lover of his country, as well as to those more immediately concerned in commerce, it must be a pleasing reflection, that a communication is thus happily opened between us and the eastern extremity of the globe ; and it adds very sensibly to the pleasure of this reflection, that the voyage has been performed in so short a space of time, and attended with the loss of only one man. To Captain Green and his officers every commendation is due for their unwearied and successful endeavours in bringing it to this most fortunate issue, which fully justifies the confidence reposed in them by the gentlemen concerned in the enterprise.

Permit me, Sir, to accompany this letter with the two pieces of silk presented to me by the Fuen of Canton, as a mark of his good disposition towards the American nation. In that view, I consider myself as peculiarly honored in being charged with this testimony of the friendship of the Chinese for a people who may, in a few years, prosecute a commerce with the subjects of that empire, under advantages equal, if not superior, to those enjoyed by any other nation whatever.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SAMUEL SHAW.

TO MR. SAMUEL SHAW.

Office of Foreign Affairs, June 23d, 1785.

SIR, — Having communicated to Congress the letter you wrote to me on the 19th ult., respecting your voyage with Captain Green, in the ship Empress of China, to Canton, I have now the pleasure of informing you, by their order, " That Congress feel a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China, which does so much honor to its undertakers and conductors."

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S. — The pieces of silk which accompanied your letter, having been returned to this office, will be delivered to you by the bearer.

Note B. Page 235.

To the Honorable John Jay, Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Canton in China, January, 1787.

Sir, — I have the honor to avail myself of this opportunity, which the return of our ship to America affords me, for communicating to you such information respecting the commerce carried on with China by the other nations of the world, as my situation and circumstances, after a second voyage to this country, have enabled me to obtain. It will not, I presume, be expected that this communication should be altogether perfect; but, as the nature of the commerce here is exceedingly uniform, and not liable to many alterations, a competent knowledge of it can never fail to be the result of a moderate share of attention and application. I shall, therefore, only say, that I have every reason to believe the following accounts, as far as they extend, are authentic; and I shall consider myself happy, if they should be in the least degree satisfactory on the several points recommended to my attention, in the letter of instructions with which you have been pleased to honor me.

The commerce of the Europeans with China appears to be as simple, perhaps, as any in the known world. The Danes, Spaniards, Imperialists, Swedes, French, English, and Dutch, have regular establishments at Canton, and trade by companies. The Portuguese, although they are in possession of Macao, do not, in the manner of the other nations, keep a public establishment, but carry on their trade by agents sent from Europe, who also return in the ships. As the business of unloading and loading their ships is, by particular indulgence, transacted at Macao, a considerable saving thence accrues on the duties which other nations are obliged to pay.

The English ships bring out from Europe lead and large quantities of cloth; which latter the company are obliged by their charter to export annually to China, for the encouragement of the home woollen manufacture. The remainder of their cargoes is made up of supplies for the company's establishments in India, and such European commodities as will suit the various markets upon the coast. After having disposed of these, they take on board cotton, with which, their lead, and cloth, they proceed to China. The English derive considerable advantage from the permission granted to private ships, owned by their subjects in India, to trade with China. These vessels, besides the cotton, sandal-wood, putchock-root, ebony, opium, shark-fins, and birds'-nests they bring from the coast, carry on a smuggling trade with the Dutch settlements in and about Malacca, and with the natives, whom they supply with opium, clothing, fire-arms, &c., in return for which they receive pepper, block-tin, and spices. The net proceeds of these, with the silver and other articles they bring from India, are, to the amount of about one third, carried back in such merchandise as will suit the India markets; and the remainder, either in cash or transfers on the Chinese merchants, is paid into the company's treasury, for which they receive bills on the company in England, at the exchange of five shillings and sixpence sterling for a dollar, payable twelve months after sight. This fund has for a number of years rendered it unnecessary for the company to export from Europe any specie for carrying on their commerce with the Chinese.

With respect, however, to this advantage derived by the English from their subjects in India, as well as from their credit with the Chinese, it must be observed that both have been pushed as far as they would bear. Last year their ships depended greatly on the latter of these resources for their homeward cargoes, and the company have sent from England the present year upwards of three millions of dollars in specie alone.

Besides the trade to China, these country ships (so called because they are not suffered to pass westward of the Cape of Good Hope) sometimes make very good voyages to Batavia, the capital of the Dutch settlements in India. They carry there all kinds of cotton piece goods, a variety of silk manufactures, and large quantities of saltpetre. In return, those that come to Canton take pepper and block-tin; and such as go back to the coast generally carry sugar, which pays a handsome freight.

The Dutch, by their resources from their settlements in Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and their other possessions in India, are enabled to manage their trade with China under equal, if not superior, advantages to those of any other people.

The other companies depend principally upon their lead and silver brought from Europe, though sometimes English captains from the coast of India furnish them with the latter in return for bills. This exchange is forbidden by the English company, and any person detected in it forfeits his privilege, and may be sent prisoner to England. However, this penalty, as it is seldom, if ever, inflicted, is but little regarded. British subjects in India, who wish to remit their property to Europe, will find means of doing it through other channels than those of the company's treasury. They get a penny, and sometimes two pence, more on a dollar, and bills at a shorter sight.

There being no French company at the conclusion of the late war, several essays have been made for conducting the trade of that nation with China. In the year 1783, the king made the expedition on his own account, with four ships. In 1784, he lent three large ships to a company of merchants, who were obliged to sell a certain number of shares to such individuals as chose to become adventurers ; and the last year there was only one ship. The result of these experiments very probably induced the forming of a new company ; and the present year they employ eight ships, — six for India, and two for China, — one of which last, having been late in the season off the Cape of Good Hope, has gone to Mauritius. Their India ships carry out stores and merchandise to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, and to their settlements on the Indian peninsula ; whence they return to France with pepper, coffee, drugs, saltpetre, and piece goods, such as muslins, calicoes, chintzes, and the various other manufactures of that quarter, both of silk and cotton. A consul of France, part of their former establishment, is still retained here. He has a house and table found him by the king, with a salary of six thousand livres per annum. Should any disputes arise among the subjects of France, his decision in a court of chancery where he presides is final, unless an appeal be made to the king and council.

The commerce of the Imperialists is closed. The German dominions are not well situated for prosecuting it. The company have had no ships here since 1783, and are one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in arrears to the Chinese for the cargoes then supplied. Their agent, Mr. Reid, returns this season to Europe.

The establishments of the Swedes and Danes have hitherto been supported principally by the smuggling trade which they have carried on in the Channel and upon the coast of Britain. But as the British parliament have taken off the duties on teas imported in their own ships, it is expected that this policy will very considerably prevent the advantages heretofore reaped by those nations, and not a little injure that branch of their commerce. The general opinion seems to be, that the trade of both these nations with China must, therefore, be on the decline.

The Spaniards, after conducting their trade in private ships, have formed a company at Manila, whose fund is said to be eight millions of dollars. They have now two ships here, which return to Manila, where their cargoes are disposed of. Part is retained for the market there, — such parts as will suit their settlements in America are sent by the way of Acapulco, — and the residue to Europe in other ships. This nation must depend principally on its silver.

The Portuguese retain scarcely the shadow of their former consequence. A few ships, owned by individuals at Macao and their remaining settlements in India, are kept in the country trade, which is managed by them in much the same manner as by the English. Their trade to Europe, as has been observed, is also conducted by private persons, — and so little do they now derive from their possessions in India, that they are obliged to depend in a great measure on a credit from the Chinese for their homeward cargoes. Scarcely one of their ships brings from Europe sufficient funds; and were it not for this credit, and the aid they receive from such European company servants in India as are desirous of sending home their property, not subject to the scrutiny of their masters, the commerce of this nation with China would undoubtedly fail.

Besides the Europeans, the Armenians and Moors drive a considerable trade with China in pearls and other merchandise, which they freight in Portuguese and English bottoms, from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the peninsula of India.

Since the year 1783, some small vessels have been fitted out by private persons in India and at Macao, for the fur-trade to Kamtschatka and the northwest coast of America. Their success has answered the expectations of the adventurers, and not a little reduced the price of furs brought here from Europe.

Such are the outlines of the commerce carried on by the Europeans with China. The national establishments are on a liberal footing. The supercargoes are provided with elegant factories, and every accommodation they can wish. All expenses are paid, and a commission allowed them for transacting the business, which is divided among them according to seniority. In the English factory, a young gentleman (whose father, perhaps, or other near relation, is one of the company) comes out at fourteen or fifteen years of age, as a writer, with all expenses paid, and one hundred pounds sterling per annum. At the expiration of five years he commences supercargo, when his salary ceases and he is included for part of the commission. The amount of this depends on the number of ships. The present year twenty-five have already arrived, and five more are expected.* The proportion to the chief and second, who share alike, will, it is supposed, be from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds sterling each.

---

* January 24th. Four of them have arrived.

The English captains in the company's service, and all the officers, are allowed the privilege of private trade; on which account, as soon as their ships are moored at Whampoa,* the captains take each his own factory at Canton. Their adventures consist chiefly of clock-work of all kinds (of which the Chinese are extremely fond), cutlery, glass, furs, some silver, and ginseng, besides articles from the coast of India. The captain's privilege in the ship is about sixty tons measurement. This he commonly fills up with fine teas, cassia, silks, porcelain, &c., which, on his entering the English Channel, are in part disposed of to smugglers, between whom and the custom-house officers there is always a clear understanding. The ships are built and equipped by private merchants, who charter them to the company at a certain tonnage. They are generally from eight hundred to a thousand tons burden, and no ship is suffered to perform more than four voyages. A captain must have great interest to get one of these ships, or pay from five to seven thousand pounds for the command. In this case, he may sell again, and, if he should die during the voyage, the privilege is filled up for the benefit of his heirs or assigns. This arrangement extends to the subordinate officers. The country captains also take factories at Canton, and for privilege make the best bargain they can with their employers.

Other nations, instead of the privilege of private trade to their officers, allow a certain gratuity to each, according to his rank. Every captain has an apartment in the factory, and a place at the company's table, where there is also a plate for any other officer who may come to Canton.

No Europeans are suffered to remain at Canton throughout the year. After their ships are gone, and they have settled their accounts with the Chinese, they repair to Macao, where each nation has its separate establishment. There they continue till the arrival of their ships the next season, when they return to Canton.

As soon as a ship, whether public or private, arrives at Whampoa, a *fiador*, or security, must be engaged, before she can discharge any part of the cargo. This person is one of the principal merchants, and generally the one with whom the business is transacted, though this circumstance does not prevent dealing with others. He is answerable to the custom-house for payment of the emperor's customs of entrance, which average between four and five thousand dollars a ship. Besides this tax, there are duties on every article, whether of import or export; but with these there is no trouble, it being understood in all bargains with the Chinese, whether buying or selling, that they pay them.

---

* Fourteen miles below Canton.

The trade on the part of the Chinese is conducted by a set of merchants who style themselves the *co-hoang*, a word expressing our idea of a trading company. This co-hoang consists of ten or twelve merchants, who have the exclusive privilege of the European and country trade, for which they pay a considerable sum to government; and no other dealers, if we except the petty shopkeepers, who are also licensed by government, can be concerned in it but by their permission. The co-hoang assemble as often as is necessary, communicate the information they have obtained respecting the commodities at market, agree on the prices at which they will purchase, and fix those of their own goods in return. When it happens that a ship has but a small cargo, no single individual of the co-hoang is willing to be its fiador, as perhaps his profits will not pay the duties. In this case, a fiador is appointed by the co-hoang, and the vessel's business done on their joint account. There is generally no material variation from the prices fixed by the co-hoang.

Each ship and factory must also have a *comprador*. This is a person who furnishes provisions and other necessaries, for which he contracts at certain prices. There is much imposition in these articles; and if the ship is small, the comprador, besides being paid for all supplies, will have a douceur of a hundred or a hundred and fifty *taels*.* This must be submitted to, as the government derives a stated revenue for every ship, of whatever size, which the comprador has permission to supply.

All the company ships, on coming to Whampoa, have each a *banksall* on shore, for the reception of their water-casks, spars, sails, and all the lumber of the ship, and containing, besides, apartments for the sick. The French have theirs separate from the other Europeans, on an island, thence called French island. The others are on the main land, on the opposite side, and confined to the ground they occupy; for the remainder being ricefields, and constantly watered, renders it impossible to go beyond the limits of the banksall; whereas French island is a delightful situation, and the resort of the gentlemen of all nations, who go on and off at pleasure. Excepting those of the French and the Americans, no common sailors are allowed to go there. For the exclusive privilege of this island, every French ship adds one hundred taels extra to the

---

* One hundred dollars are equal to seventy-two taels.

hoppo's[*] present. The banksalls are large buildings, framed with bamboo reeds, and covered with mats and straw. They are erected by the Chinese, who pull them down immediately on their being left, in order that they may have the advantage of setting up new ones. The expense for a banksall is about two hundred dollars.

Besides a fiador and comprador, each ship must also have a linguist, at an expense of about a hundred and twenty taels. This person is absolutely necessary, as he is employed in transacting all business with the custom-house, — which is in the city, where no European can be admitted, — provides boats for unloading and loading, and is always at call.

When the hoppo goes to measure the shipping at Whampoa, which he does whenever there are three or four that have not been visited, he is attended by the co-hoang. On these occasions the captains produce their clock-work and other curiosities, of which the hoppo lays by such as he likes, and the fiador for the ship is obliged to send them to him. Some time after, the hoppo demands the price, for he will not receive them as a present, when the merchant, who understands matters perfectly, tells him about one twentieth part, or less, of their value, and takes the money.

As soon as a ship is measured, the fiador takes out a permit for unloading, and the linguist provides two boats to receive the goods, which are hoisted out of the ship in presence of two mandarins, who live in their boat alongside. When the goods arrive at Canton, one of the principal mandarins, with his assistants, attends to weigh, measure, and take an account of every thing ; after which, liberty is granted to sell. Such articles as the fiador or the co-hoang do not want may be disposed of to any other purchaser, from whom the linguist collects the duty, and settles with the fiador. When the return cargo is to be sent on board, the mandarins attend as before, examine and take account of every thing. Each package must have the seller's mark upon it, in order that the linguist may know where to apply for the duties. No fees are paid to these officers either by the buyer or seller, their salaries being fixed by the emperor. The expense of unloading is paid by the Europeans, and the Chinese deliver the return cargo alongside the ship, free of all duties and charges whatever. All merchandise must be transported by Chinese boats.

In the customs at Canton, as in other parts of the world, instances of knavery sometimes occur. The duty on silks may be compromised with the mandarin, who will accept a present of about one half the amount for letting them go free. In these cases, the ship's boat, carrying the flag of its nation, attends at the time and place appointed, takes in the goods, and receives the mandarin's permit, which passes her without further examination. All boats are searched in coming to and going from Canton, and must have a permit ; besides which, they must, unless carrying the national flag, be stopped and examined at three different houses on the river.

---

[*] Chief officer of the customs.

The factories at Canton, occupying less than a quarter of a mile in front, are situated on the bank of the river. The quay is enclosed by a rail-fence, which has stairs and a gate opening from the water to each factory, where all merchandise is received and sent away. The limits of the Europeans are extremely confined ; there being, besides the quay, only a few streets in the suburbs, occupied by the trading people, which they are allowed to frequent. Europeans, after a dozen years' residence, have not seen more than the first month presented to view. They are sometimes invited to dine with the Chinese merchants, who have houses and gardens on the opposite side of the river ; but even then no new information is obtained. Every thing of a domestic concern is strictly concealed ; and though their wives, mistresses, and daughters are commonly there, none of them are ever visible.

The Europeans at Canton do not associate together so freely as might be expected ; the gentlemen of the respective factories keeping much by themselves, and, excepting in a few instances, observing a very ceremonious and reserved behaviour. At the Danish factory there is, every Sunday evening, a concert of music, performed by gentlemen of the several nations, where every body attends that pleases. This is the only occasion when there appears to be any thing like a general intercourse. On the whole, the situation of the Europeans is not enviable ; and, considering the length of time they reside in this country, the restrictions to which they must submit, the great distance they are from their connections, the want of society and of almost every amusement, it must be allowed that they dearly earn their money.

Much has been said respecting the knavery of the Chinese, particularly those of the trading class. But there is no general rule without an exception. The small dealers are many of them indisputably rogues, and require to be narrowly watched. But the merchants of the co-hoang are a set of as respectable men as are commonly found in other parts of the world. They are intelligent, exact accountants, punctual to their engagements, and, though not the worse for being well looked after, value themselves much upon maintaining a fair character. The concurrent testimony of all the Europeans justifies this remark.

The ships employed in this trade are, on an average, seven hundred tons each, — some as many as fourteen, but none less than five, — and for the last three years the numbers have varied considerably. In 1783, exclusive of the country ships returning to India, there sailed from Canton and Macao forty-five ships for Europe, sixteen of which were English. In 1784, there were eleven English, four French (including one chartered at Mauritius), five Dutch, three Danish, and four Portuguese, which sailed for Europe; one Danish and eight English country ships that returned to the coast; and one American. The Swedish ships lost their season that year. In 1785, there were eighteen English, four Dutch, one French, four Spanish, three Danish, four Swedish, and one English-American under Imperial colors, which sailed for Europe and America. Ten English country ships returned to the coast. The present season, the list is as follows: — twenty-nine English, five Dutch, one French, two Spanish, two Danish, one Swedish, five American, for Europe and America; and twenty-three English country ships that returned to the coast; also five Portuguese from Macao for Europe. This is the greatest number that has ever been known here in any single year, and its effects on the commerce are such as must naturally be expected. Excepting Bohea, every kind of tea is at least twenty-five per cent. higher than in the year 1784, and the other exports are proportionably dear.

Having been thus particular respecting the manner in which other nations conduct their commerce with China, it will not, I trust, be improper to make a few observations on the nature of our own.

The inhabitants of America must have tea, the consumption of which will necessarily increase with the increasing population of our country. And while the nations of Europe are, for the most part, obliged to purchase this commodity with ready money, it must be pleasing to an American to know that his country can have it upon easier terms; and that the otherwise useless produce of her mountains and forests will in a considerable degree supply her with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking; and the manner in which her commerce has commenced, and is now going on, with this country, has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen, the first year, a single ship, not one fifth part of whose funds consisted of ready money, procure a cargo of the same articles, and on equally good terms, as those of their own ships, purchased, as has been observed, for the most part, with specie. They have seen this ship again here, on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that, too, with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them with the merchandise of this ; and, though a very small proportion of their funds consisted of specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

With respect to the demand in this country for the ginseng of America, which might be rendered as beneficial to her citizens as her mines of silver and gold have been to the rest of mankind, the world has been much mistaken. Until the American flag appeared in this quarter, it had been generally supposed that forty or fifty piculs * were equal to the annual consumption. But experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty piculs were brought here by the first American ship, in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greatest part of which must have been previously sent there by citizens of the United States. The present year more than eighteen hundred piculs have been sold, one half of which came in the American vessels. Notwithstanding this increased quantity since 1784, the sales have not been materially affected by it, and it is probable there will always be a sufficient demand for the article to make it equally valuable.

On a consideration of the subject of ginseng, the inquiry seems naturally to arise, whether it cannot be rendered more beneficial to the country which produces it than it is at present. How far the culture of this commodity is practicable, in what manner it may be best promoted, and whether it would be for the interest of America to prevent the exportation of it in any but American bottoms, directly to this country, may be questions not unworthy of national attention.

Besides the advantage America may derive from her ginseng in the direct commerce with China, others would also accrue from making the voyage circuitous, which could be performed without loss of time. The ship in which I made my second voyage to China stopped at Batavia, the capital of the Dutch establishments in India. We were well received there, and allowed to trade on the same terms as other nations. Iron and naval stores, the produce of our country, found a ready sale ; and besides these, we disposed of articles which, though not immedi-

---

* A picul is 133⅓ lbs. English.

ately productions of our own, had been received from other countries in exchange for them. A profit may sometimes be made on merchandise carried from Batavia to Canton. No doubt, similar advantages might result to the Americans in circuitous voyages to China, by the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and through the Straits of Malacca.

On the whole, it must be a most satisfactory consideration to every American, that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by any other people.

I have thus, Sir, used my best endeavours to communicate to you all the information I have been able to obtain of the means by which the other nations of the world carry on their commerce with China. Should these remarks be found in any degree interesting to my country, it will afford me the most heartfelt satisfaction. The *matter* of this communication, I believe, may be relied on; but for the *manner* in which it is made I must request that indulgence which I have been so happy as to experience on a former occasion.

I must not omit mentioning that the death of Mr. Sears, our late worthy friend and partner, renders it necessary that Mr. Randall should return to America, in order to attend to our private concerns. This step I hope will not be disagreeable to you. He will be able to give any further information respecting the foregoing particulars that may be necessary. I shall, in the mean time, go to Bengal, and return here the ensuing season. If in this tour any new information should be obtained, I will do myself the pleasure of transmitting it to you.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere esteem and regard, Sir,
Your much obliged and humble servant,
SAMUEL SHAW.

Mem. The ship Hope passed Macao, February 1st.

NOTE C. Page 253.

To the Honorable JOHN JAY, Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Canton in China, December 21st, 1787.

SIR, — Having, in the letter which I did myself the honor of addressing to you towards the close of the last season, mentioned the several matters which came within my observation relative to the commerce which the Europeans carry on with this part of the world, I have only to remark generally on this subject, that a detailed account of it at present, such is its uniformity, would involve merely a repetition of the greater part of what was then written. I shall, therefore, confine myself rather to the quantity, if I may be allowed the expression, than to the manner, of the commerce for the current year.

Since the year 1784, the trade here has been constantly tending to the disadvantage of the Europeans. The imports, collectively taken, hardly defray the first cost; and the exports have increased in a ratio beyond all possible conjecture. On an average, at the most moderate computation, the price of every sort of tea, Bohea only excepted, has advanced more than forty per cent., nor is it yet at the highest point. Such is the demand for this article, that the Chinese hardly know *how much* to ask for it; and should the rage for purchasing continue only another year, it is not improbable that the price may be doubled. I shall, for your information, annex a list of the shipping at Whampoa. Though the number of English vessels does not exceed that of the last year, yet, from their superior size, the quantity of tonnage is greatly increased. In the opinion of judicious observers, the English seem to be not only aiming at a monopoly of the tea-trade for Europe, but appear to have in view the exclusive commerce of this division of the globe. The new plan of government for Bengal and its dependencies, — their late establishments, both to the eastward and westward, — the prohibition to their subjects in India against selling their ships to foreigners, — and, in short, their whole conduct, strongly favor the suspicion. This object, and to be sure it is no trifling one, is now considered as the great idol of the English nation; and in consequence of it, the current of popular opinion carries rapidly along every measure which the company think fit to adopt. How far our republican friends, the Dutch, whom it most nearly concerns, will suffer any attempts of this kind, a few years must determine. The settlement of the English at Pulo Pinang, which enables them to command the whole of the navigation from the peninsula of India, Malaya, and the island of Sumatra, has not a little alarmed them; and the settlement at Botany Bay, on the southeast coast of New Holland, has increased their apprehensions. I say nothing of the opposition the English may expect from the Swedes and Danes, who certainly find their advantage in this commerce, — or from the French, invariably their enemies. Perhaps a commercial confederation of these nations, for their mutual benefit, not unlike the armed neutrality during the late war, may be adopted, as the best means of checking and defeating such exorbitant pretensions.

With respect to our own commerce in this quarter, which is yet in its infancy, I shall only observe, that, inconsiderable as it has hitherto been, and is this year especially, it is viewed with no small degree of jealousy by our late mother country. Gentlemen, in all parts of the world, of whatever nation they may be, can esteem, and sometimes love, one another; but Englishmen and Americans, merely as such, in any place, as at Canton, where the former have the ascendency, can barely treat each other with civility. It is to national prejudices only, not yet done away, that I have reference, — for I have found among the English men who are an honor to their race. No national civilities, on their part, have been offered us at Canton, either last year or the present; but at Macao, in the interval, there was a full tender of them made me, with a general invitation to their table. These, however, I thought proper to decline, without assigning a reason, as circumstances rendered any explanation unnecessary. Personally, I have no cause of complaint. The usual compliment of a visit has been mutually paid and returned, and we frequently meet at other tables, and also at the Danish concert. They have themselves a public concert, weekly; but, for the reasons mentioned, I never attend it. After saying thus much concerning the English, I should be guilty of the highest ingratitude, were I to omit testifying, on this occasion, my entire satisfaction at the reception and treatment I have met with from the chiefs and gentlemen of the other nations, not only at Canton, but during a residence of six months at Macao. It has been, and continues to be, in all respects proper, and in many instances really friendly.

Though little can ever be known of China by persons restricted to such narrow limits as are the foreigners who trade here, yet we see enough to give us very unfavorable ideas of its government. The laws may be good, but its police is extremely defective. It would shock your humanity, were I to give a sketch of the misery which is here daily exhibited; and what excites the indignation of every foreigner is, that the number of these wretched objects being inconsiderable, it is evidently in the power of the magistracy amply to provide for them. This is not the only instance which contradicts the generally received idea of the excellence of the Chinese government. At present there are great disturbances in many parts of the empire, and the insurrections in the island of

Formosa and the adjacent country threaten consequences of a serious nature. The war in that quarter has raged upwards of a twelvemonth, and its issue is yet doubtful. The oppressions exercised by government have reduced the inhabitants of those parts to a state of desperation, which has had the most pernicious effects on the agriculture and commerce, not only of that, but of the neighbouring provinces.

From this painful view of the effects of despotism, I turn with pleasure to the contemplation of that happiness which an American enjoys, under the government of equal laws and a mild administration. Surely, if we avail ourselves of the experience of other nations, and make a proper use of the advantages with which Heaven has blessed us, we cannot fail in due time of becoming a great and a happy people.

In addition to the observations in my former letter respecting the article of ginseng, I shall only observe, that the sales of it this season confirm me in the opinion of the great advantages our country may derive from it. The annexed list will show the quantity brought here. The price for the best has been from one hundred and thirty to two hundred dollars a picul (133⅓ lbs.), at which it now stands, though probably it will rise twenty or thirty dollars before the departure of the last ships.

It was my intention, after despatching our ship last season, to go to Bengal; but the vessel in which I had engaged a passage lost so much time at Macao, that her destination was changed for Manila, and I was reduced to the necessity of remaining behind. I am now making a second attempt, have engaged my passage, and expect to sail the first week in January. On my return here, in August next, I hope to meet Mr. Randall, from America, by whom I flatter myself I shall have the honor of receiving your commands. The commercial engagements I have made in behalf of Mr. Randall and myself will involve the necessity for me, if not for both of us, to return at the close of the season to America. I therefore take the liberty of begging you will be pleased to communicate this circumstance to Congress; and I humbly hope that honorable body will not be offended that I take this step without their permission previously obtained. The loss of time which the waiting for such permission must involve would be prejudicial to us in the extreme; and this, with the consideration that the office of consul at Canton is rather honorary to the person vested with it than essential to the commerce of our country, I presume to flatter myself will be admitted as my excuse.

Be pleased, Sir, to do me the honor to accept my acknowledgments for the favors I have received from you, and to believe me most respectfully, with the highest esteem and regard,

Your very obedient and obliged humble servant,

Samuel Shaw.

List of Ships, &c., arrived at Whampoa in 1787, to December 20th.

				Piculs.	Catties.	
English,*	28	Ginseng brought,		500	38	
Dutch,	5	“	“	25	5	
Swedish,	2	“	“	19	51	
Danish,	2	“	“	9	48	
French,	3	“	“	115	99	
Prussian,	1	“	“	3	69	
Tuscan,	1	“	“	—	—	
American,	1	“	“	52	18	
	—			—	—	726 28
	43, to pass the Cape of Good Hope.					
Country ships,	31, not allowed to pass the Cape.					
At Macao,	4, Portuguese, bound to Lisbon.					

Note D. Page 118.

To the Honorable Mr. Englehard, Shabandar of Batavia.

Batavia, September 4th, 1790.

Sir, — On my arrival at Batavia, the 30th ult., in the American ship Massachusetts, of eight hundred and twenty tons, from Boston, in her way to Canton in China, I did myself the honor of waiting on you with a report of my cargo, and requested to be indulged with the privileges hitherto accorded to the citizens of America trading to this quarter of the globe. I have to beg your acceptance of my acknowledgments for your politeness in presenting me to the governor-general and the council, to request their permission to dispose of such articles as I had provided for this market (conforming myself to the usual laws and customs), which I had experienced in my former voyage here, in 1786. Judge then, Sir, of my surprise, on being answered that all commerce with the Americans was absolutely prohibited. My acquaintance with and respect for the law of nations teach me, that, in such circumstances, implicit obedience is a virtue; — and I shall accordingly, on the morrow, proceed on my voyage, — declaring, as owner of said ship and her cargo, that no article of the same has been or will be sold during our stay; and that nothing has been purchased here, except water, vegetables, and other refreshments for our passage to Canton.

---

* Two more expected from England, — one direct, the other *viâ* Bombay.

At the same time that I make this declaration, permit me, Sir, to observe to you, that I have reason to believe this prohibition is laid upon my countrymen on account of evil reports, which have been propagated to their prejudice by persons unfriendly to both countries; and I have therefore, as consul for my nation, taken the liberty of making a representation to the government here on the subject, which I herewith inclose, and request you will take the earliest opportunity of having it presented. As a public officer and a good citizen, I feel for the honor of my country. As a merchant, the prohibition is exceedingly detrimental to my interest. These motives, Sir, I hope will plead my excuse for troubling you on the present occasion; and I pray you to believe me, with much esteem, and a grateful sense of your friendly attentions,

Your most obedient servant,

Samuel Shaw.

Note E. Page 118.

The undersigned, Consul at Canton in China for the United States of America, has the honor to make the following declaration to the Governor-General and the Council of Batavia.

That he was at Batavia, in the month of July, 1786, with a ship from New York, called the Hope, whereof he was supercargo and part owner. That he left Batavia for Canton after remaining there twenty days; during which time he did not, in any instance, by himself or any one for him, violate the laws of trade by a clandestine exportation of pepper, coffee, or spices; or in any manner act contrary to the orders and laws of the government, as signified to him by the then Shabandar, Mr. Le Clé.

That after having resided at Canton, as consul for his nation, during the remainder of the year 1786, the whole of 1787 and 1788, he, in the month of January, 1789, took passage for America, where he arrived in July following.

That, as for other ships belonging to citizens of his nation, which have been at Batavia and China since the aforesaid year of 1786, he believes the same line of conduct has been observed by their captains and owners. It may not be improper to observe, that coffee from the Isles of France and Bourbon, pepper from the coast of Malabar and other places in India, and spices from Batavia, may be purchased by Americans from English country ships at Canton, as well as from the Chinese, upon such terms as will afford them a reasonable profit in their own country ; and he has just grounds to suppose that the small quantities which from time to time have been carried thither were procured in that way.

The undersigned is sorry to remark, that, in consequence of reports to the prejudice of his countrymen, they have not only been prohibited all commerce here, but have been considered in a very unfavorable point of view by the government at Batavia, and classed with smugglers, who, instead of conforming themselves to the established customs of civilized nations in matters of commerce, do not hesitate to pursue any measures, however dishonorable, to promote their own advantage ; and he feels most sensibly for the honor of his country, as well as for himself and his fellow-citizens, who, conscious of not violating any laws of this government, have come or may yet come to Batavia, — not knowing that by such evil reports the administration here have been induced to prohibit all commerce with them. That, in his own particular case, he had provided in America sundry articles, not contraband, to a large amount, expressly for the market of Batavia, which, to his great injury, he is not allowed to dispose of; but, contrary to his expectation, is obliged to proceed with them to Canton, where they are not wanted.

It becomes, in a peculiar manner, the duty of the undersigned, as consul for his nation, to use every means in his power to vindicate it from the unjust aspersions under which it suffers ; and he flatters himself that a little time will suffice entirely to remove them ; in which event, he confides in the justice of the administration in Holland, and in that of Batavia, that his countrymen will then be admitted to the full enjoyment of all privileges allowed to any other nation ; especially, as the connection at present happily subsisting between their republic and the United States of America has, in his humble opinion, the equitable principle of reciprocal good for its immediate object.

With these sentiments, and those of the most perfect respect and good-will towards the illustrious republic of Holland and its establishments throughout the globe, the undersigned has the honor to put his name to this representation, made at Batavia, the fourth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

SAMUEL SHAW.

NOTE F. Page 118.

To the President of the United States of America.

Canton in China, December 7th, 1790.

SIR, — The commerce of a nation being one of the principal objects of the attention of its rulers, I hope it will not be deemed inconsistent with the duties of the office with which you have been pleased to honor me, that I submit to your consideration some particulars relative to the trade of the citizens of the United States with those of the United Netherlands, at Batavia, the capital of their establishments in India.

Having sailed from Boston the latter end of March last, in an entirely new ship, built, navigated, and owned by citizens of America, I arrived at Batavia, the first port of my destination, on the 30th of August following; when, to my no small astonishment, I was informed by the head officer of the customs, that all commerce with the Americans was prohibited by orders from Holland; and that we should be allowed to take only the necessary refreshments for our passage to Canton, my second port of destination. Notwithstanding this information from the Shabandar, I thought it my duty to exercise the right of petitioning to the governor-general and the council for permission to trade, as had been heretofore the custom; and accordingly I was the next morning presented to his Excellency at his levee, and, in two hours after, delivered to him my petition at the council-board, where I received for answer that the prayer of it could not be granted.

After informing myself, from the Shabandar, of the reasons on which the prohibition of the Americans to trade at Batavia was grounded, I thought it incumbent on me, as consul for the United States, to make a representation to the governor and council, on a matter which I conceived so nearly to concern the welfare of our country. On communicating to the Shabandar this my determination, he assented to the propriety of it, and observed, that, though the prohibition was in the highest degree injurious both to the Americans and to the inhabitants of Batavia, yet, if the former did not complain to the supreme authority when they had an opportunity, it would ill become that respectable body to take any notice of the matter to the administration in Holland. Accordingly, on Saturday, the 4th of September, I drew up a memorial to the governor and council, and inclosed it in a letter to the Shabandar, requesting him to take the earliest opportunity of having it presented. On seeing that gentleman afterwards, he assured me that the memorial should be presented on the ensuing Tuesday, and that it would be favorably received, — it being the wish, not only of the inhabitants, but of the government also, that the commerce at Batavia should be as free for the Americans as it was for any other nation.

To the aforegoing particulars I take the liberty of adding copies of the letter and declaration above mentioned, and of begging that you will believe me to be, with the most respectful attachment, Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL SHAW.

S. D.,

THE END.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 08978 474 6

Boston Public Library
Central Library, Copley Square

Division of
Reference and Research Services

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library.

Please do not remove cards from this pocket.